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## ON THE INDEPENDENT CHARACTER OF THE WELSH OWAIN

### I

SINCE, according to our present knowledge, the Welsh "Lady of the Fountain," which I will call for brevity *Owain*, appears to have been written later<sup>1</sup> than Chrétien's *Yvain*, one might plausibly suppose it to be merely another version of the French like the English *Iwain and Gawain*,<sup>2</sup> the German *Iwein*,<sup>3</sup> the Norwegian *Ívens Saga*,<sup>4</sup> and the Swedish *Herra Iwan*.<sup>5</sup> But one need only glance through these versions to see that *Owain* bears a different relation to *Yvain* from any of the others. Alone among the five versions it presents the story in a decidedly clearer and more coherent form than the French.

An attempt has been made to explain this increased clearness by attributing it to a conscious effort of the Welsh writer to adapt a foreign material to the rude comprehension of his countrymen.<sup>6</sup> It is rather doubtful if the aristocratic classes in Wales were less practiced in reading romances and less intelligent than the corresponding ranks of society in Norway or Sweden, not to speak of

<sup>1</sup> See Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, I, 18 (*Cours de Litt. Celtique*, III); Foerster, *Karrenritter* (1899), p. cxxxii; *Mabinogion*, Lady Guest's translation, ed. Nutt (1902), p. 347, note. In references to the so-called "Mabinogion," the page of this English translation will always be given first, and then the volume and page of Loth's French version.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Schleich, 1887.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Henrici, 1891.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Kölbing, 1898.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Liffman and Stephens, 1849.

<sup>6</sup> Foerster, *Der Karrenritter* (1899), pp. cxxxvi-cxxxvii; *Literarisches Zentralblatt*, 26 Aug. 1911, p. 1122.

England. And we find few such alterations and additions that are conducive to clearness in the Norwegian or Swedish or English. Nor do we find that foreign materials translated into Celtic are as a rule made into better stories.<sup>7</sup>

But without insisting on these points, it is obvious that the explanation given is too general to have any particular worth. Everything depends upon the personality of the Welsh writer. *A priori* nobody can deny that he might have been a master of plot-technique, who, after studying Chrétien's *Yvain* as a whole, inserted links and effected alterations which clarified and made more coherent the story, but this is not probable. The question must be settled by the evidence of the Welsh text. Does *Owain* show the impress of such a quick intelligence ever at work to clarify the story?

#### A

In the scene where the hero bids farewell to the Countess of the Fountain to return to Arthur's court, *Owain* omits all mention of any ring (p. 186; *Les Mab.*, II, 30). *Yvain* in the corresponding place (v. 2600 f.) describes at some length a ring given by the lady to the hero which would protect him from prison, from loss of blood, and from all evil. Yet *Owain* retains the ring in a later scene where a messenger from the Countess comes to Arthur's court:

"And she came up to Owain, and took the ring from off his hand. Thus,' said she 'shall be treated the deceiver, the traitor.'" etc. (p. 187; II, 31).

The reference to what goes before is in *Yvain* perfectly clear (v. 2776). In *Owain*, however, the introduction of a ring here as something already known, is a glaring incoherence. No ring given by the lady has been mentioned.<sup>8</sup> If the Welsh writer were intelli-

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Y Seint Greal*, ed. Williams. *Hengwrt MSS.* I (1876); *Bown o Hamtun*, *ibid.*, II, 119-188; the Irish *Aeneid*, *Irish Texts Soc.*, VI; the Irish *Bevis* and *Guy*, ed. Robinson, *Zi. f. Celt. Phil.*, VI, etc. etc.

<sup>8</sup> No one will suppose the Welsh writer so stupid (having, according to hypothesis, Chrétien's *Yvain* before him) as to mean to identify this ring with the invisible-making ring given by Luned to Owain at the time of his rescue from the falling gates (p. 177; II, 18). The Welsh narrative lacks coherence unless the ring taken away by Luned be a pledge of the lady's love, either given by the lady as in Chrétien, or at least bestowed at her command. The invisible-making ring will not do. It was given to Owain before the lady had ever seen or heard of him.

gently at work inserting links and clarifying the French narrative, he would surely not have carelessly created this new incoherence.

The true explanation of this incoherence of the Welshman lies most probably, not in a "lost leaf" in his copy of Chrétien, but in the character of the source which he followed. That more primitive story may have identified the ring taken away by Lunete with the invisible-making ring bestowed by her. It could do this because in an earlier form of the story the invisible-making ring could be regarded as a love pledge. It cannot be considered a love pledge in either *Yvain* or *Owain* because in both of these stories Lunete (Luned) is a lady's maid acting without the knowledge of her mistress. But in a more primitive form of the story, as I have previously pointed out (*Mod. Phil.*, IX, 111, note 2), the lady (a *fée*) was doubtless in supreme control of the whole action; Esclados was only a champion conjured up to test the hero's valor, and Lunete, a subordinate *fée*, acting at all times with the knowledge of her mistress. Under these circumstances it is easy to see that the ring, though given by Lunete, was in fact a pledge of the lady's (Laudine's) love, and might naturally be taken away by Lunete when Ivain broke his faith. The ring was doubtless in an earlier form of the story a fairy talisman, endowing its owner with the marvelous power of penetrating to the other world, and obtaining there the love of a fairy. At the loss of the ring Ivain went mad because with the ring departed his power of finding his way to the other world and of retaining the lady's love. When Ivain regained Lunete's favor by rescuing her from the Hostile Seneschal and his two brothers (vv. 4385 f.), he probably received from her again the ring, and with it restoration to his lady's land and love. The Welsh shows this more primitive thread of connection by making Ivain, after his rescue of Lunete (from two hostile pages), regain at once his lady's favor. In Chrétien the purpose of the rescue of Lunete is obscured.

Since magic rings do not appear in ancient Celtic stories it is probable that the talisman was originally not a ring but a branch or an apple. Compare the apple of the *fée* in *Echtra Condla*, Windisch Kurz. *Irische Gram.*, pp. 118-120; and the silver branch of the *fée* in the *Imram Brain*, Meyer, *Voyage of Bran*, I, 1-35 (both from LU, a MS. of 1106 or earlier). The way in which Ivain finds himself powerless to restrain Lunete from taking away his ring when she comes for it (v. 2704 f.), finds a striking parallel in the behavior of the magic branch. "And she (the *fée*) took her branch with her. The branch sprang from Bran's hand into the hand of the woman, nor was there strength in Bran's hand to hold the branch." *Voyage of Bran*, I, 16. This fairy branch or apple might naturally be altered in later times to a ring. Cf. the references to rings which bring a fairy or genie in Clouston, "Magical Elements in Chaucer's Squire's Tale," *Chaucer Society*, 2d Series, 26, pp. 338 f.; and in Pietro Toldo, *Romanische Forschungen* (1904), XVI, 623 f. Cf. also the "alner" which Launfal had from his fairy mistress, and which lost its power of supplying him with money when he broke faith to her, *Sir Launfal*, lines 319 f., 734 f.; and the ring obtained and lost in a similar way in *Désiré*, ed. F. Michel, *Lais Inédits* (1836), p. 14.

Although this seems to me the probable explanation, I put it in a footnote because its rejection will in no way injure the argument in my text.

Even if we suppose that his text of Chrétien lacked the farewell scene (a gratuitous assumption), a master of plot-technique would probably have invented some explanation for the ring or else have omitted it altogether from the story.

## B

Another instance where the Welsh writer has omitted something essential to the plot occurs in the scene where Lunete rescues the hero. In *Yvain* (v. 1001 f.) a motive for Lunete's good will is given. She had once met Ivain at Arthur's court, and Ivain had shown her kindness, which she now wishes to requite. The Welsh writer omits all reference to any previous acquaintance, and all mention of any recognition between Lunete and Ivain, and yet retains Lunete's expression of good will in terms which are absurd when addressed to a stranger:

"'Truly,' said the damsel, 'It is very sad that thou canst not be released, and every woman ought to succour thee, for I never saw one more faithful in the service of ladies than thou. As a friend thou art the most sincere, and as a lover the most devoted'" (p. 177; II, 17).

We must assume that the text of Chrétien used by the Welsh writer had another "lost leaf" here, and furthermore that he was not quick-witted enough to correct this manifest incoherence. In two passages, then, at least, the Welsh writer was either careless or stupid, and, on the hypothesis that he used Chrétien's *Yvain*, hampered by a defective text.

## C

In one striking passage, however, the Welsh writer, if indeed he had no other source than Chrétien, has displayed marvelous acumen in clarifying and explaining an incoherent original.

After Ivain was made prisoner in the entrance way of the castle between a pair of falling gates or portcullises, which descended one before him and the other behind, the French poem becomes contradictory and vague in its descriptions of place. First come four lines which are strangely maladroit:

"Remest dedanz la sale anclos,  
Qui tote estoit cielee a clos  
Dorez, et paintes les meisieres  
De buene oeuvre et de colors chieres;"

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This splendor is absurd in the gloomy entrance way of a mediæval castle. Yet these lines seem to belong to the original text of Chrétien. They are in all of the MSS. except one, and their presence is witnessed to by the German and by the Norwegian versions.\*

We next read of a little door opening towards the place where Yvain was. Through this entered the damsel Lunete and spoke kindly to him:

"D'une chanbrete iluec delez 970  
Oï ovrir un huis estroit,  
Que que il iert an cel destroit;  
S'an issi une dameisele."

Lunete recognized Yvain, who had once shown her kindness at Arthur's court, and wished to rescue him. But to our amazement, instead of taking him away, through the door by which she had entered, to some place of concealment, she gave him a ring that would render him invisible. What is the explanation of this? Perhaps in a more original form of the story the little door did not open directly into the place where Yvain was, but only into a place from which Lunete could talk to him and could hand him the ring. This hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that the French poem at a later place, where the warriors of the Castle come to avenge themselves on Yvain, expressly says that there was no *huis* by which he could have escaped:

"Et disoient: 'Ce que puet estre? 1111  
Que ceanz n'a huis ne fenestre  
Par ou riens nule s'an alast,  
Se ce n'iert oisiaus, qui volast  
Ou escuriaus ou cisemus, 1115  
Ou beste aussi petite ou plus;  
Que les fenestres sont ferrees  
Et les portes furent fermees  
Des que mes sire an issi fors.'"

Verses 1117 to 1119, it is true, smooth over the contradiction somewhat, but seemingly verses 1112 to 1116 make good sense only if there was no door or window opening from the place where Yvain was caught.

\* *Yvain*, ed. Foerster (1906), p. 185.

After Lunete has given Yvain the magic ring (verse 1026), the scene seems to change without any explanation to her chamber:

" Et quant ele li ot ce dit, 1039  
 Sel mena seoir an un lit  
 Covert d'une coute si riche, etc."

The English *Iwain and Gawain* inserts at this point a line which makes the change of scene clear:

" In at þe dore sho him led 749  
 And did him sit opon hir bed."

Something of this sort must certainly have stood in Chrétien's text unless we admit that he wrote an incoherent narrative.

But difficulties do not end here. Without any mention of a change of scene Chrétien goes on to write as if Yvain was sitting upon a bed in the great hall of the castle. (Verses 1066, 1070 ff., 1089 ff., 1133, 1178 ff.) The people of the castle on their way to search between the falling gates for the assailant of their lord, pass close by Yvain. Verses 1087 to 1131 read as if the bed on which Yvain was sitting was between the falling gates. Everything looks as if Chrétien was here very carelessly transposing and rearranging a description that he did not understand.<sup>10</sup>

It is not surprising that the author of a foreign version should attempt, as the English writer does, to introduce some clearness into this confusion. But the alterations made by the Welsh writer are of a most vital and penetrating character, and if he had only our text of Chrétien before him show him to be an almost incredibly skilful master of plot-technique.

In *Owain* (p. 177; II, 17-19) there is no little side door from

"The impression left on reading Chrétien's account is that the great hall of the castle, where Ivain all the time remains, lay between the fallen gates. But this is an unheard of construction in twelfth century France (cf. Foerster's long note, in *Yvain* [1906], lines 963-66, pp. 185-6). I believe that Chrétien was confusedly reproducing an older description representing an Otherworld palace, which consisted, like the Irish palace in real life (cf. Nitze, *Studies in Honor of Marshall Elliott*, p. 32, note 24) of ground-floor-apartments only. In such an Otherworld palace the splendor of verses 963 ff. would not be out of place. The account in *Owain* may well be a rationalization of such an older description, but it is almost impossible to believe it based solely on the incoherent and confused picture in *Yvain*.

the passage way of the castle. Luned appeared to the hero in the street before the inner portcullis of the castle gate. She talked to him and passed the magic ring to him through the portcullis. The use of the invisible-making ring, obscure in *Yvain*, is here apparent. Owain must of course stay imprisoned till the warriors of the castle come and raise the portcullis in order to seek him. Luned's directions are:

"I shall be upon the horseblock yonder awaiting thee; and thou wilt be able to see me, although I shall not see thee; therefore come thou [*i. e.*, when the portcullis is raised] and place thy hand upon my shoulder, and then I shall know of thy coming to me. And by the way that I shall go hence, come thou after me" (p. 177; II, 18).<sup>11</sup>

When the people of the castle came to seek Owain to put him to death, they found nothing but the half of his horse, for:

"Owain went from them invisible, and went to the maiden, and placed his hand upon her shoulder; whereupon she set off, and Owain followed her until they came to the door of a large and beautiful chamber. . . . And Owain looked around the chamber, and behold there was not even a single nail in it that was not painted with gorgeous colors; and there was not a single panel that had not sundry images in gold portrayed upon it" (p. 178; II, 19).<sup>12</sup>

The difficulty about the funeral procession passing immediately by the couch upon which Ivain sits is also removed. In *Owain* the hero views the procession, "from a window of the chamber" (p. 179; II, 20).

The passage quoted above contains the only verbal resemblance between *Owain* and *Yvain* hitherto pointed out which is worth any consideration. *Yvain* in the singularly inappropriate description of

<sup>11</sup> This translation I have altered from Loth's somewhat in an attempt to represent more exactly the meaning. The Welsh text is as follows:

"A minneu a vydaf ar yr esgynuaen racko yth aros di. A thydi amgwely i. kany welwyf i dydi. A dyret titheu a dot dy law ar penn vy ysgwyd i. Ac yna ygwbydydaf i dy dyfot titheu attaf fi. Ar fford ydelwyf i o dyno dyret titheu gyt a mi." *The Text of the Red Book of Hergest*, ed. Rhys and Evans, 1887, p. 173, lines 16-21 (f. 637).

<sup>12</sup> The Welsh text of the passage "Behold there was not a single nail" etc., is:

"Ac nyt oed yn y lloft un hoel heb y lliwaw a lliw gwerthauwr. Ac nyt oed un ystyllen heb delw eureit arnei yn amryual." *The Text of the Red Book of Hergest*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 174, lines 2-5 (f. 638).

the entrance way of the castle between the falling portcullises reads, as has been just seen:

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“ (Yvain) remest dedanz la sale anclos,  
 Qui tote estoit cielee a clos  
 Dorez, et peintes les meisieres  
 De buone oeuvre et de colors chieres; ”

This passage hangs together with the one just quoted from *Owain* by a single nail (French *clos*, Welsh *hoel*), and this one word has been thought by some<sup>13</sup> to prove that *Owain* shows the influence of *Yvain*. A bare possibility that the author of *Owain* had read *Yvain* and was imitating the French in this particular place cannot be denied, but is very far from being proved. Other explanations are at least equally plausible. This resemblance in one word may be the work of chance. More probably it is occasioned by the partial survival of a descriptive phrase from a common original, *x*, the source of *Owain* and *Yvain*. Readers familiar with the conservatism of Irish and Welsh story-tellers will find nothing surprising in the preservation for a long time in separate streams of oral tradition of conventional descriptive phrases.<sup>14</sup> Even if *Owain* and *Yvain* were considerably removed from their common ancestor *x*, set phrases, which struck the fancy of the story-tellers, would be likely to be retained in both, and a single verbal resemblance should have little weight to prove any influence of *Yvain* upon *Owain*, or *vice versa*.

## II.

Thus far the effort has been to determine, merely by comparative study of the two documents, whether *Owain* is independent of *Yvain*. Within the limitations of this method a thorough settlement of the question is perhaps impossible.<sup>15</sup> In what follows I mean to introduce material never used for this purpose before, and to attempt by going outside of *Owain* and *Yvain* to obtain positive criteria for determining the question whether or not the first is independent of the second. I wish to apply to the decision of this

<sup>13</sup> See Foerster, *Yvain* (1887), p. xxvi f.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Miss Weston, *Sir Lancelot*, p. 61.

<sup>15</sup> Foerster has dwelt on the "subjektiv" nature of this method, *Karrenritter* (1899), p. cxxxvii; *Zt. f. franz. Sp. und Litt.*, XXXVIII, 158 (1911).

question the results of investigations into the source of *Yvain* in which I may, perhaps, claim to have demonstrated beyond a reasonable doubt that *Yvain* is based upon what may be regarded as a Celtic<sup>16</sup> fairy mistress story of the type of the Irish *Serglige Conculaind* and the Welsh "Pwyll and Arawn." The general features of Celtic fairy story of this type are now well known and it will be of interest to examine *Owain* and *Yvain* afresh to see which shows more resemblance to the fairy story type.

*Yvain* is, as I have endeavored to show elsewhere,<sup>17</sup> in origin the story of two successful journeys by the hero to the Other World, and relates how he twice won the hand of the fairy Laudine. The second half of *Yvain* is to a great degree a repetition of the first half. The Hospitable Host of the first part corresponds to the Hospitable Lady of the second; the Monster Herdsman who points out the way to the Helpful Lion, and Esclados le Ros, the "husband" of Laudine, to the "Seneschal" who was Laudine's champion. Each part should then terminate in a combat between Ivain and Laudine's "husband" or champion, in which the latter should be slain, and Laudine naturally pass into Ivain's possession.

The Welsh *Owain* preserves this outline in both parts of the romance. In the second part as soon as Owain has slain the two usurping pages, who are trying to burn Luned (p. 194), he is reunited to the Lady of the Fountain and the story ends at once. But the French *Yvain* confuses this outline in the second half of the story. After Ivain has slain the wicked Seneschal, who corresponds to the two usurping pages of the Welsh, instead of regaining Laudine he engages in two long adventures which are useless to the main plot. At the end of his adventures, in a purely fortuitous way,<sup>18</sup> he reaches again Laudine's castle and regains his place by her side.

<sup>16</sup> This fairy mistress story was essentially Celtic, that is, it took shape in the fancy of Celtic writers. I make no assertion about the ultimate source of the ideas it contained, but say only that whatever their origin they were fused into unity by the imagination of the Celts.

<sup>17</sup> "Knight of the Lion," *P. M. L. A.*, XX, 687 f. (1905); *Modern Philology*, IX, 109 (1911); and "Iwain, A Study," *Harvard Studies and Notes*, VIII, 27 f. (1903).

<sup>18</sup> If (as Chrétien implies, v. 6533 ff.) Ivain had but to pour much water on the stone and raise a very great tempest in order to regain admission to Laud-

Neither one of the two incidents, the Castle of Ill-Adventure and the Daughters of the Black Thorn, which follow the slaying of the Seneschal in Chrétien's *Yvain*, fits into its context. They seem to have been interpolated there by the French poet, perhaps for the purpose of lengthening out his romance. The first of these episodes, the Castle of Ill-Adventure, is in origin an independent variant of the theme of *Yvain* as a whole. It relates an adventure in the Other World in which Ivain frees distressed damsels and wins the offer of the hand of a *fée*, an offer which of course the poet cannot allow his hero, who is in search of reconciliation with another *fée*, to accept. Clearly this adventure is out of place, within the framework of a longer tale of the same type. *Owain* gives the Castle of Ill-Adventure as a separate story about Owain after the close of the main romance.<sup>19</sup> This is obviously the original and right arrangement.

One who holds to the theory that *Owain* is entirely dependent upon *Yvain* will find it is a difficult task to suggest any reason why the Welsh writer should have taken this one episode out of its frame and placed it loosely at the end. But if we suppose that *Owain* represents a more primitive form of the tale, in which different stories about the hero were told one after the other, we can easily see how Chrétien, finding this detached episode at the end, and wishing to give a superficial appearance of finish to his work, may have crowded it into the framework of his romance.

We can also see why Chrétien introduced the other adventure in his presence, why did he neglect this obvious expedient when he was at the Fountain Perilous in v. 3494, and again in v. 4315 f.? This raising of a very great storm is a tame device of Chrétien's, which he probably developed out of the Barenton rain-making spring story, for the purpose of winding up his romance. In typical Celtic fairy stories the *fée* is won by slaying an antagonist.

"The *Owain* consists of separate stories about the hero told with much straightforwardness, but very loosely connected together. In fact the MS. called the *Red Book of Hergest* indicates a break at the end of each of these stories. Another detached episode at the end of *Owain* (p. 196; II, 42) gives, in brief, a story unrepresented in French about Owain's ravens, and we know from references in Welsh literature (Skene, *Four Books*, I, 364, 366; II, 455), that some such a story about Owain existed.

Chrétien certainly tried to give a formal unity to his romance. There is no inconsistency in granting this, and yet maintaining that in places he failed to understand his original, as in the scene of Ivain's rescue by Lunete, and was content to leave details vague and incoherent.

which I have named "The Daughters of the Black Thorn." His object was to provide an excuse for getting Ivain back to Arthur's court. Gawain could not well be encountered except at Arthur's court, and Chrétien wished to wind up his romance by a combat between Ivain and the prince of courtesy. In *Owain* the combat of Ivain and Gawain occurs when Arthur and all his knights come to the fountain, which is the correct place for this encounter from the point of view of a journey to the Other World, and also from the standpoint of the opening of the romance.<sup>20</sup> In *Owain* the helpful lion is not mentioned in this incident because he has not yet entered the story. Chrétien, not understanding the Otherworld motive, thought to obtain an appearance of climax by transposing this combat to the very end. But a trace of its earlier position remains. In every other adventure of this part of *Yvain* the lion appears. In this incident he is not even mentioned, although he reappears when it is over. The entire Black-Thorn motive, with its markedly feudal coloring and its lack of any folk-lore features, reads like an interpolation, as was noticed by Gaston Paris in 1902.<sup>21</sup> Chrétien, in transposing the Ivain-Gawain combat, and in introducing the Black-Thorn motive, neglected to weave in the helpful lion strand.

*Owain* is then not only more straightforward than *Yvain*, but wherever its order of events differs from the latter it is closer to the typical Otherworld tale.

The following seem to be the only rational hypotheses to account for the facts thus far observed:

1. *Owain* is based on an earlier text of *Yvain* than any that has come down to us. This text was defective at passages *A* and *B* (p. 144 f. above), but presented passage *C* in an entirely coherent form, much like that which exists in *Owain*.

This hypothesis is plausible only so long as one confines one's

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Miss Weston, *Legend of Sir Lancelot* (1901), p. 67. "It is significant that in all the versions extant *Yvain* is influenced in his secret departure from court by the conviction that Gawain will demand the adventure of the spring, and thus forestall him; but in the Welsh variant alone is this forecast fulfilled literally, and the undecided conflict between *Yvain* and Gawain fought at the spring. . . . The Welsh tale alone indicates clearly what was the primitive form." Cf. also Miss Weston's remarks in *Modern Quarterly*, I, 102 (1898).

<sup>21</sup> *Journal des Savants*, p. 290, note 2. Cf. my "Knight of the Lion," *P. M. L. A.*, XX, 680 f.



attention to passages *A*, *B*, and *C*. If it be admitted, and it seems difficult any longer to deny, that *Yvain* was in an earlier form the story of a journey to the Other World to win the hand of a *fée*, it is most unlikely that Chrétien wrote an earlier version of his romance in which he kept the primitive order of events (as it is in *Owain*) not to mention numerous primitive details, and then abandoned all of this in a second version.<sup>22</sup> Nobody, probably, would maintain this seriously. The many MSS. which we have of *Yvain* differ from one another only in trifling ways. The earlier version employing a different order of events, which this hypothesis postulates, cannot be the work of Chrétien, but must be identified with *x*, the common source of *Owain* and *Yvain*, a lost Anglo-French or Latin romance.

2. *Owain* may have been made from *Yvain* by a Welshman who was a literary artist. His superior insight enabled him to perceive (what many modern scholars have missed) that *Yvain* is in essence a fairy story, and he consciously altered his French original to make it conform to the numerous fairy stories with which he was familiar in his own tongue.<sup>23</sup> In this way he improved the order of events.

This hypothesis is disproved, first, by the fact that passages *A* and *B* are worse in *Owain* than in *Yvain*, showing that the Welsh transcriber was not a skilled and careful artist, such as the great improvement in passage *C* demands; and second, because such a conscious artist would have been sure to give us hints that the Castle of the Hospitable Host and that of the Lady of the Fountain were

<sup>22</sup> Even Foerster does not maintain that Chrétien wrote two versions of *Yvain*. He contents himself by saying that the Welsh, German and Norwegian writers must have used a more complete and better MS. of Chrétien than ours, a MS. indeed that belonged to a different family from any that survive (*Karrenritter* (1899), p. cl). Cf., moreover, his *Erec* (1909), p. xxviii: "So glaube ich denn, dass die von G. Paris angenommene verschiedene französische Quelle des Mabinogion zwar existiert hat, aber nicht, wie er meint, selbständig, sondern nur als ältere bessere Handschrift von Kristian auf die wir ja auch durch N [the *Ivens Saga*] und Hartmann geführt werden." But the exceedingly numerous and minor ways in which *x* resembled a Celtic fairy tale prove that it could not have been an earlier version of *Yvain* made by Chrétien, still less could it have been nothing more than a better MS. of *Yvain*. See Edens, *Erec-Geraint*, p. 133 f.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Foerster, *Karrenritter*, p. cxxxvii.

Otherworld castles, and that the lion was a guiding beast, etc.—in other words, he would have allowed his comprehension of the true interaction of events to shine through his narrative in numerous explanatory phrases. This he does not do. He makes his Welsh version end, just as it ought to end in a fairy tale, where the lion was doubtless a guide for Ivain back to the fairy castle. But he gives no hint that the lion was a guide, and evidently did not understand this any more than Chrétien. Furthermore, although he always uses language consistent with the idea that the castle of the Countess of the Fountain was in the Other World, he employs no phrase that definitely tells us this. His lack of explanation is a guarantee of his good faith, and assures us that he was reproducing something pretty much as he found it.

3. Hypothesis 2 is clearly untenable, but some one may propose a modification of it, as follows:

*Owain* is based on *Yvain*, but through several intermediary versions, which may be imagined to have existed between *Yvain* and the extant Welsh *Owain*. The author of the first Welsh version was a keen literary artist. He clarified the story and modified it, putting it back into fairy-story form. He invented the great improvements in passage *C*. This intelligent Welsh translator was succeeded by several stupid Welsh copyists, who by omissions and mistakes created the muddles in passages *A* and *B*, and who suppressed from the Otherworld incidents all explanatory phrases which the insight of the first Welshman must have provided.

This hypothesis is too complicated to be very plausible. Against it may be urged, first, that it is unlikely that even a succession of Welsh copyists, who, *ex hypothesi*, were all stupid, and cannot from their nationality have been averse to fairy lore, would have managed to eliminate all explanatory phrases, and have left *Owain* so thoroughly rationalized as we find it; and, second, that traces of the ingenuity of the first Welsh writer would be apt to remain scattered generally throughout the text of *Owain*, which is not the case.

This hypothesis must, for the present, be admitted as possible, although not probable. It will, as I think, be disproved in the following pages by showing that *Owain* resembles the most ancient Celtic fairy stories in so many ways and in such numerous details, lacking in *Yvain*, that it can hardly be ascribed to any archaizers

working consciously or unconsciously, who had only *Yvain* before them.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>24</sup>Foerster, *Zt. f. franz. Sp. und Litt.*, XXXVIII, 162-3 (1911), hopes that somebody may investigate thoroughly the entire question of the relationship of *Yvain*, *Erec*, and *Perceval* to the three analogous Welsh tales. My present article is in a sense preparatory to such a study. But the results of the present article are sure, and do not depend upon the relationship of *Erec* and *Perceval*, to *Geraint* and *Peredur*. Foerster has admitted that the relationship of the three Welsh tales to the three French romances is quite different in each case, *Karrenritter*, p. cxxxiii f.; *Yvain* (1906), p. lvii. He has further admitted that the three Welsh tales may not be by the same author, and that it will probably never be possible by internal evidence to settle the question of whether they are all the work of one man or not, *Karrenritter*, cxxxiv. *Geraint* may therefore be wholly dependent on *Erec*, and yet *Owain* be largely independent of *Yvain*.

An extended controversy between Foerster and Edens on the question of the relationship between *Geraint* and *Erec* should be noted, Foerster, *Literarisches Zentralblatt*, 26 Aug., 1911, pp. 1120-1124; reply by Edens, with counter-reply by Foerster, *ibid.*, 18 Nov., 1911, pp. 1522-1527; *ibid.*, 2 Dec., 1911, pp. 1590-1591; Foerster, *Zt. f. franz. Sp. und Litt.*, XXXVIII, 149-195 (1911); Zenker, *Zur Mabinogionfrage*, Halle, 1912. It is interesting to observe that although from internal evidence alone, as I have indicated in the case of *Owain*, the question of the relationship of *Geraint* to *Erec* is perhaps impossible of solution, it would seem that Foerster's position is slightly less well maintained than that of Edens-Zenker.

Foerster erroneously quotes Alfred Nutt as favoring his view, that *Peredur* and the other two Welsh tales in question have no other source than Chrétien. Foerster refers to Nutt, *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, pp. 132-145 (1888), but even in 1888, although Nutt admitted the possibility of the author of *Peredur* having known *Perceval* (I admit the possibility of the author of *Owain* having known *Yvain*) he insisted that *Peredur* showed traces of an independent source. "The Mabinogi has preserved an older form than Chrestien," *op. cit.*, p. 138.

A later statement by Nutt of his view is made in his edition of the *Mabinogion* (1902), pp. 351-354. "*Owain* and *Geraint* may represent groupings of lays due to different Anglo-Norman story-tellers. . . Or, they may be the surviving remains of purely native versions." "The main thread of the story is, notably in *Peredur*, clearer, more orderly, and more logical in Welsh than in French. If, as is asserted, Crestien practically invented these stories, and the Welsh story-teller simply translated them, this would be inconceivable." Loth, in an important article, favors a view like Nutt's, *Rev. Celt.*, XXXII, 439-440 (1911), "Les trois romans d'Owen et Lunet, *Peredur*, *Geraint* et *Enid* sont indépendants des romans de Chrétien, mais, quoique l'origine première soit celtique, ils sont manifestement inspirés, parfois comme traduits, d'une source immédiate française rapprochée sur beaucoup de points, de celle de Chrétien."

Foerster's diametrically opposite view is set forth in *Karrenritter* (1899), p. cl, "Es folgt also mit zwingender Notwendigkeit dass die drei Mabinogion auf Kristian und zwar nur auf Kristian zurückgehen."

The probable hypotheses are:

4. *Owain* is based upon  $x$ , a lost romance, but has been influenced by *Yvain*. That is,  $Owain = x + Yvain$ .
5. *Owain* and *Yvain* are based independently upon a common source  $x$ . That is,  $\overset{Owain}{Yvain} < x$ .

The shadowy geography, and traces of a chivalric system so elaborate that it must be French, show that  $x$  was not pure Welsh. It was probably an Anglo-French metrical romance, although the possibility of its having been a prose work in Latin<sup>25</sup> cannot perhaps, be rejected. At the time when Chrétien wrote there may have existed, very possibly, many French versions of the famous story of Ivain, which were later displaced and killed off by the greater vogue of Chrétien's romance.<sup>25a</sup>

### III

In the following pages a detailed comparison of *Owain* with the most ancient Celtic fairy stories, Irish and Welsh, will be attempted. A study of this sort has never been made, and it is thought that it will bring the question of the relationship of *Owain* to *Yvain* decidedly nearer settlement. A great number of details which show traces of a more primitive fairy-story point of view, lost in *Yvain*, seem, when such a study is made, to spring into significance. Some of these details may appear trifling, but taken together their evidence is cumulative and cannot be disregarded.

In an earlier form of the story, preserved to us in *Yvain* and *Owain*, the Castle of the Hospitable Host and the Castle of the Countess of the Fountain must have been fairy castles situated in the Other World. *Owain* employs a number of phrases which harmonize excellently with this conception. Of the first Castle it is said in Kynon's account:

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Professor Kittredge's recent discovery of "Arthur and Gorlagon," a Welsh story told in Latin, *Harvard Studies and Notes*, VIII (1903).

<sup>25a</sup> If some of these lost versions were partially known by oral tradition to the translators of Chrétien, it would explain the fact that the English, German and Norwegian versions preserve a few original details not to be found in the best MSS. of Chrétien. This is more natural than Foerster's view that the translators worked from a MS. of *Yvain* belonging to a different "family" from any that has come down to us.

"I came to a large and lustrous castle" (p. 168; II, 5).<sup>26</sup>

Of the second castle:

"Thereupon Owain described a vast and resplendent castle" (p. 196; II, 17).<sup>27</sup>

*Yvain* is in these passages realistic. In place of the "large and lustrous castle" that Kynon saw, it speaks of a wooden fort ("une bretesche," v. 191) such as was probably then common in Brittany. Lustrous and resplendent castles must have been almost as rare in Wales of the twelfth century as they are today. It is scarcely satisfactory to explain the shining castles as mere extravagance on the part of the Welsh writer. But these castles may well be survivals from an older form of the story, in which their situation in the Other World was clearer. The shining palaces of the Other World are often referred to in the oldest Irish fairy stories: "A pure-white cliff on the range of the sea," *Imram Brain*, ed. Meyer, *Voyage of Bran*, I, 12; "The treasure house of the cat," which was "all white as of lime . . . round the rampart were great snow-white houses," *Imram Mailduin*, *Rev. Celt.*, IX, 477; another fairy island with a bronze fortress upon it, which was entered by a "bridge of glass," *ibid.*, IX, 489; Almu, Finn's residence, which was thought of as a fairy palace, is described as "all white with lime," *Fotha Catha Cnucha*, Windisch, *Kurz. Gram.*, p. 121. These three stories are from LU, a MS. of 1106, and linguistic considerations show that they are even older. *Imram Brain* has been assigned to the seventh century, Kuno Meyer, *Voyage of Bran*, I, xvi; Zimmer, *Haupt's Zeitschrift*, XXXIII, 261.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> "kaer uawr lywychedic," Rhŷs and Evans, *The Red Book of Hergest*, p. 163, lines 22-23 (f. 628).

<sup>27</sup> "caer uawr lywychedic," *ibid.*, p. 172, lines 18-19 (f. 636).

<sup>28</sup> Compare the following descriptions of fairy palaces in less ancient Irish stories: "A large fortress in the midst of the plain, with a wall of bronze around it. In the fortress was a house of white silver." *Echtra Cormaic*, *Irish Texts*, III, 1, 195, and 213; "Door posts of bronze and doors of crystal." *Echtra Airt*, in *Eriu*, III, 156; "The ceiling of red gold and the floor all of silver, of the white bronze its lintel is, and its threshold of copper," *Aidedh Ferghusa*, O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, II, 277. One may compare also the isle, or tower, of glass, a well known and extremely old form of the Otherworld castle; Nennius, *Historia*, ed. Mommsen, chap. 13; d'Arbois, *Essai d'un Catalogue*, p. 192; Loth, *Les Mab*, II, 277-8 (triad 113); *Tristan*, ed. Michel, 301; *Isle of Ladies*, ed. Sherzer, 71, etc.

Resplendence is not the only sign of the original Otherworld character of these castles in *Owain*. Their marvellous extent is another. When King Arthur visited the Castle of the Hospitable Host with,

"the men of his household . . . and their number was three thousand, besides their attendants," (p. 183; II, 26),  
he and his train were invited into the Castle:

"And great as was the number of his retinue, their presence was scarcely observed in the Castle, so vast was its extent" (p. 184; II, 26).

The context shows that Arthur's train was likewise easily entertained at the Castle of the Countess of the Fountain (p. 186; II, 30). No statements of this kind occur in *Yvain*.

Another passage in the Welsh tells how Owain looked from a window toward the Castle of the Countess of the Fountain:

"And he could see neither the bounds nor the extent of the host that filled the streets. . . . And a vast number of women were with them, both on horseback and on foot" (p. 179; II, 20).

What Owain beheld was evidently, in an earlier form of the story, a fairy host,<sup>29</sup> in which women generally predominate.

The Castle of the Hospitable Host retains in *Owain* the primitive feature of having, except for its lord, only maidens as inhabitants:

"Now there were no dwellers in the Castle except those who were in one hall. And there I saw four and twenty damsels, embroidering satin at a window" (p. 169; II, 6).

It is likewise more primitive in retaining the silence at the banquet, sometimes spoken of in the Otherworld Castle:<sup>30</sup>

"Until the repast was half over, neither the man nor any one of the damsels spoke a single word to me; but when the man perceived that it would be more agreeable to me to converse than to eat any more, he began to inquire of me who I was. I said I was glad to find

<sup>29</sup> Compare the innumerable fairy host that came to visit Herla, "a king of the most ancient Britons," Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, ed. Wright, *Camden Society*, 50, pp. 15-16; an account that probably embodies ancient Welsh tradition.

<sup>30</sup> In the Irish *Noinden Ulad*, ed. Windisch, *Leipzig, Berichte*, phil.-hist. classe, XXXVI, 336 f. (1884), from LU, a *fée*, after she is first encountered, is silent for a whole day. In Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, ed. Wright, *Camden Soc.*, 50, pp. 79-82, in a story presumably of Welsh origin, a *fée* preserves silence for three days. Cf. Nitze, *Studies in Honor of Marshall Elliott*, p. 37, note.

that there was some one who would discourse with me, and that it was not considered so great a crime at that court for people to hold converse together" (p. 170; II, 7-8).

The oldest Irish fairy stories agree in representing the Castle of the Other World as inhabited by women, having, however, a king over them. This is the conception of *Echtra Condla Chaim*, Windisch, *Kurz. Gram.*, pp. 118-121, from LU: "There are no people there except women and maidens" (Ni fil cenel and nammá acht mná ocus ingena); of *Serglige Conculaind*, *Irische Texte*, I, 217, from LU, where Loeg describes Mag Mell as "a place that bands of women frequent" (dia n-aithiget buidni ban), and in a later passage "I saw women in a company, I saw many maidens also" (p. 220); of the *Imram Brain*, Meyer, *Voyage of Bran*, I, 10, from LU, "Emne . . . in which are many thousands of motley women." A little later Emne is called "the land of women" (Tír na m-ban), I, 15.

In excellent harmony with the theory that *Owain* retains traces of a primitive Otherworld Castle lost in *Yvain*, is the mention in *Owain*, not merely of dishes of gold and silver, as in the French, but of other objects, of precious metal as well:

"And the table was of silver" (p. 169; II, 7).

"Maidens sitting in chairs of gold" (p. 175; II, 15).

"A silver table inlaid with gold" (p. 178; II, 19).

In Celtic fairy stories the Castles of the Other World are, as the name implies, always thought to be in another land from Britain (or from Ireland, if the story be Irish). No matter how quickly fairyland may be reached, people while there speak of "returning to their land." Thus in the genuine Welsh *Mabinogi*, in "Pwyll, Prince of Dyfed," the hero, after a visit to the Other World (*An-nwvynn*), returns "to his country and dominions" (*Mab.*, p. 9; I, 37). More striking are some of the parallels in Irish, as in the *Echtra Lóegaire* (*Cours de litt. Celtique*, II, 360, from LL, a MS. of 1150), where Lóegaire, who has reached the Other World by simply diving into a lake, prefaces his return by saying: "Let us go to get news of Ireland." This feature is perfectly retained in *Owain*, but entirely lost in *Yvain*.



Kynon says:

"The least fair of the maidens [in the first Castle] was fairer than the fairest maid thou hast ever beheld in the Island of Britain, and the least lovely of them was more lovely than Gwenhwyvar, the wife of Arthur, when she has appeared loveliest at the offering on the day of the Nativity, or at the feast of Easter" (p. 169; II, 6).

The uncourtly comparison of the last part of this speech made in the presence of Queen Gwenhwyvar is difficult to explain unless we admit that the damsels were really *fées*. The supernatural beauty of *fées* is attested in the oldest stories. In the *Serglige Conculaind*, Loeg described to Cuchulinn the beauty of a *fée* in somewhat similar terms: "There was a noble woman in the house, she was superior to the women of Ireland" (ro derscaig do mnaib Érend), Windisch, *Irische Texte*, I, 219, from LU; and in an earlier place, "because of her beauty there was no one in the world who could be compared to her" (I, 211).

The maidens of the first Castle in *Owain* unharnessed Kynon's horse:

"As well as if they had been the best squires in the Island of Britain" (p. 169; II, 7).

Kynon remarked of the Monster Herdsmen:

"He is not smaller in size than two of the men of this world" [*i. e.*, he is a personage of the Other World] (p. 170; II, 8).

Kynon brought back from his unsuccessful journey a marvellous steed which he evidently kept as a trophy of the Other World:

"I found, ready saddled, a dark grey palfrey, with nostrils as red as scarlet; . . . and that horse I still possess, and he is in the stable yonder. And I declare that I would not part with him for the best palfrey in the Island of Britain" (p. 174; II, 13).

The setting of Kynon's tale in the Welsh harmonizes with the idea that it is the story of a journey to the Other World. In ancient Celtic story this journey was the supreme adventure of the greatest heroes like Cuchulinn and Arthur. So Kynon remarks that this is the best tale that he knows, and he prefaces the telling of it by referring to its extraordinary character:

"I was exceedingly aspiring, and my daring was very great. I thought that there was no enterprise in the world too mighty for me,

and after I had achieved all the adventures that were in my own country, I equipped myself, and set forth to journey through deserts and distant regions" (p. 168; II, 4).

This introduction lacks in *Yvain*, where Calogrenant begins abruptly: "I was seeking adventures seven years ago" (line 177). Kynon makes in the Welsh, as one would expect, on the theory that his contest was against a marvellous foe, no confession of personal shame at his failure. His comment is:

"Dieu sait que personne n'a jamais avoué pour son compte une aventure moins heureuse que celle-là" (II, 13).<sup>31</sup>

But in *Yvain* Calogrenant is made to say at the beginning that he will tell a story, "not of his honor, but of his shame" (line 60), and the disgrace of Calogrenant is so often referred to (lines 142 f., 578 f., 589) that scarcely a hint that this was the supreme adventure of trying to penetrate to the Other World is left. Chrétien has done all that he can to rationalize this adventure, and he has nothing at all to correspond to Kynon's concluding remark, which in the Welsh defines vividly the extraordinary nature of the incident:

"Verily it seems strange to me, that neither before nor since have I heard of any person besides myself who knew of this adventure, and that the subject of it should exist within King Arthur's dominions without any other person lighting upon it" (p. 174; II, 13-14).<sup>32</sup>

This sentence is perfectly appropriate if we suppose that in the original story Kynon had penetrated into a fairy hill, into a subterranean or sub-aqueous fairy realm.

After King Arthur had made his way to the Castle of the Countess of the Fountain, and had been entertained there by *Owain*, the latter remarked to Arthur:

"I have been absent from thee these three years, and during all that time, up to this very day, I have been preparing a banquet for thee, knowing that thou wouldst come to seek me" (p. 186; II, 30).

<sup>31</sup> The Welsh text is: "A duw a wyr gei nac adeuawd dyn arnaw e hun chwedyl vethedigach no hwnn eiryoet," Rhys and Evans, *Red Book of Hergest*, p. 170, lines 3-5 (f. 634). Lady Guest's translation introduces a notion of shame which is not in the Welsh: "No man ever before confessed to an adventure so much to his own discredit," ed. Nutt, p. 174.

<sup>32</sup> A rather close parallel to what Kynon says about *Owain*'s adventure occurs in fifteenth century Irish MSS. Finn, who had found himself in a fairy castle, says of the fairy inhabitants: "I knew not that in Ireland were so many as this number present and I impotent to recognize them," O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, II, 223 (text I, 198).

There is nothing of this in Chrétien, and it agrees well with the Celtic conception of the Other World, where the coming of visitors is always foreknown, and where feasting is a perpetual preoccupation of the inhabitants. Thus in the ancient Irish *Imram Brain*, the Other World is called "Emne with many kinds of hospitality," and there "the food that was put on every dish vanished not from them. No savor was wanting to them," ed. Meyer, *Voyage of Bran*, I, 28-30. In the *Imram Mailduin*, the fairy queen explains: "'My welcome to thee, O Mailduin. . . . It is long since your coming here hath been known and understood,'" ed. Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, IX, 491. In the genuine Welsh Mabinogi, "Branwen, the daughter of Llyr," the feast of the seven companions of Bran's head, while listening to the song of the marvellous birds, endured at first for seven years and then for fourscore years, *Mabinogion*, p. 41; I, 93-94.<sup>33</sup>

When King Arthur came to leave the Castle of the Fountain, he asked of the Countess that he might take Owain away with him:

"To show him to the nobles and the fair dames of the Island of Britain. And the Countess gave her consent. . . . So Owain came with Arthur to the Island of Britain" (pp. 186-187; II, 30).

This passage makes good sense if we remember that it is a question of bringing a person back from Avalon, or the Other World, which in later story is sometimes identified with the land of the dead. No one ever returned from Avalon, but Arthur wished to show Ivain in order to prove that he still lived.<sup>34</sup>

In a more original form of the story the Hospitable Host and the Monster Herdsman must have been creatures conjured up by the *fée*, different disguises, perhaps, of the same magician whose object was to lure Yvain into battle with the red champion (*Esclados le Ros*). *Owain* preserves a trace of this original identity by calling the Hospitable Host "the yellow man" (p. 175; II, 15),

<sup>33</sup> Compare also in a less ancient description of a fairy palace:

"Then food-laden boards of the house with varied meats rose up before him, and he knew not who had given them to him." *Echtra Airt*, in *Eriu*, III, 157.

<sup>34</sup> Foerster's superficial way of looking at things will not allow him to understand this. He complains, *Yvain* (1887), p. xxv, note 1, "die Anspielung steht vollständig ausser jedem Zusammenhange. Da sowohl Artus als Yvain beide Insulaner, also in England zu Hause sind, begreift man die Motivirung gar nicht."

"gwr melyn"; and the Monster Herdsman "the black man" (p. 176; II, 15), "gwr du."

It is regular for Celtic fairies to appear clad in unusual hues, and to be accompanied by strangely colored objects. Perhaps, therefore, in the elaborate and almost wearisome repetition, with which the golden crowns, the yellow hair and attire of the inhabitants of the Castle of the Hospitable Host, and of that of the Countess of the Fountain is dwelt on, one may trace survivals of original fairy brilliancy. The chief passages are: "Two youths, each with yellow curling hair, with a crown of gold upon his head, and clad in a garment of yellow satin, and they had gold clasps upon their insteps" (p. 168; II, 5). The Host was "clad in a robe and a mantle of yellow satin; and round the top of his mantle was a band of gold lace. On his feet were shoes . . . fastened by two bosses of gold" (p. 169; II, 6). Owain was given "a robe and a surcoat and a mantle of yellow satin, with a broad gold band upon the mantle" (p. 169; II, 7). "Maidens working at yellow satin embroidery, in chairs of gold" (p. 175; II, 15). Luned had "yellow curling hair, a frontlet of gold upon her head; she was clad in a dress of yellow satin, and on her feet were shoes of variegated leather" (p. 177; II, 17). The hair and dress of the Countess are described in the same words (p. 179; II, 21). Owain was given such attire when about to be presented to the Countess, "a coat and a surcoat and a mantle of yellow satin, upon which was a broad band of gold lace; and on his feet were high shoes of variegated leather, which were fastened by golden clasps" (p. 182; II, 24). When Luned came on horseback her "bridle and so much as was seen of the saddle were of gold." And she "was arrayed in a dress of yellow satin" (p. 187; II, 31).

Traces of Other World decorations may perhaps also be noticed in the "arrows winged with peacock's feathers" and in the "towels of linen, some green and some white" at the Castle of the Hospitable Host" (pp. 168-169; II, 5-7). None of these passages are represented in Chrétien's *Yvain*, nor is any similar insistence on splendor of attire to be noted in the Welsh *Geraint* or *Peredur*.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>35</sup> It is perhaps worth mentioning that in *Geraint*, in the episode of the "enchanted games" (Chrétien's "Joie de la Cort"), which is a confused Other-world story (see my "*Iwain*," *Harvard Studies and Notes*, VIII, 133-135), one

Chrétien's description of the Monster Herdsman is as follows:

"A *vilain* who resembled a Moor, tall, disproportionately hideous, I saw sitting on a stump. He had a great club in his hands. I drew near the *vilain* and saw that he had a head larger than a horse or other beast. His hair was bushy and his forehead, which was bald, was more than two spans broad. His ears were mossy and large, just like those of an elephant. His eyebrows were large and his face flat. He had the eyes of an owl, the nose of a cat, his mouth cleft like a wolf's and his boar's teeth were sharp and red. His beard was black, his mustaches twisted and his chin rested on his breast. His back was long and humped, and he leaned upon his club. He was dressed in the newly flayed skins of two oxen, and was seventeen feet tall." (This creature was herding fierce bulls in the forest.) *Yvain*, lines 288-344.

In *Owain* the Monster Herdsman is altogether different:

"A black man of great stature on the top of the mound. He is not smaller in size than two of the men of this world. He has but one foot; and one eye in the middle of his forehead. And he has a club of iron. . . . And he is the woodward of that wood. And thou wilt see a thousand wild animals grazing around him" (pp. 170-171; II, 8-9).

This particular change might possibly be attributed to an archaizing Welshman, who was endeavoring to bring the scene closer to the folklore of his own land, although it is hard to see the reason for any change. The monster, in his grotesque exaggeration, seems Celtic enough in *Yvain*. It is certain, however, that the figure in *Owain* is much closer to the wood monster of Irish and Scottish tales. In Irish a giant woodman like this is called the *fáchan*, and has regularly but one eye, one hand and one leg (see my "Knight of the Lion," *P. M. L. A.*, XX, 683-684). His appearance in *Owain* is most naturally explained as the survival of something from a lost original.

The animals that come together at the summons of this Monster Herdsman are in *Owain* much better suited to the Otherworld forest than the fierce bulls fighting in *Yvain*.

"There was I three times more astonished at the number of wild animals, than the man had said I should be" (p. 171; II, 9).

"The animals came together, as numerous as the stars in the sky, so that it was difficult for [Kynon] to find room in the glade to stand among them. There were serpents, dragons and divers sorts of animals. And he [the Monster Herdsman] looked at them and bade them go and reads of a "tent of red satin . . . and a maiden sitting in a golden chair" (pp. 242-243; II, 171). A "golden chair" is not elsewhere mentioned in *Geraint*.

feed; and they bowed their heads, and did him homage as vassals to their lord" (p. 171; II, 9).

Cuchulinn on his way to the Other World found "a large glen before him, and a single narrow path through it, which was full of monsters to destroy him," *Tochmarc Emere*, translated by K. Meyer, *Arch. Rev.*, I, 298, from LU. According to another account he found a pit with "ten serpents that burst over its border, a house full of toads that were let fly at him," *Siaburcharpat Conculaind*, ed. O'Beirne Crowe, *Proc. Royal Hist. and Arch. Assoc. of Ireland*, 4th ser., I, 385 f., from LU. See *P. M. L. A.*, XX, 686.

If the Monster Herdsman and the Hostile Champion were, as I suppose, originally creatures of the *fée*, each might probably in an earlier form of the story have appeared on the top of the mound (Irish *síd* or *dún*) within which he had his fairy palace. The most typical story of this kind in ancient Irish is the adventure of Cuchulinn at the mound of the sons of *Nechta Scene*. Cuchulinn ordered his charioteer to drive to the mound. He then dismounted upon the green which was at the top of the mound. In the green was a pillar-stone with an iron collar around it. Upon the collar was an inscription in Ogam. The inscription read that if anyone bearing arms should come upon the green it was *geis* for him to depart without challenging to single combat some one of the inhabitants of the mound. Cuchulinn pulled the pillar of stone up and threw it into the water. According to the version in LU he threw only a withe that was on the pillar-stone (Faraday, *Cattle-Raid of Cualnge*, p. 30), and then went to sleep on the green. (Evidently there was a spring of water upon or near the mound.) It was not long before Foill, son of *Nechta*, came upon the green and assailed Cuchulinn in single combat. After slaying the fairy man, Cuchulinn entered the mound (*dún*) and laid waste the fairy dwelling, *Táin Bó Cúalgne*, ed. Windisch, *Irische Texte, extraband*, pp. 148-151, from LL. The similarity of this story to that of the challenge at the Fountain in *Yvain* is obvious.

In *Fled Bricrend* (ed. Henderson, *Irish Texts Society*, II, 43-51, from LU) is a parallel story to *Yvain*, involving the challenge by disturbing a meadow, the supernatural storm, and the combat with a giant. Loigaire went to a certain hillside, the road to which is very particularly described (p. 45), was overtaken by a "druidical"

mist, and was then attacked by a giant Curoi, who complained that Loigaire had damaged his meadow. Loigaire fled, leaving his horses and his arms (cf. Calogrenant). Conall went to the same meadow and had the same experience. Finally, Cuchulinn, at the same meadow, won a victory over the giant.

Similar stories stripped of much of their fairy setting are in the four genuine branches of the Mabinogi (on the singular form see Loth, *Rev. Celt.*, XXXII, 422 f., (1911)). Pwyll went repeatedly to the top of a particular mound in order to encounter a *fée* (*Mab.*, p. 10; I, 38-39). In "Branwen, daughter of Llyr," a fairy man with a magic caldron appeared beside a mound (p. 31; I, 76). In the archaic "Kulhwch and Olwen," which is generally admitted to be uninfluenced by foreign romance, occurs a fairy herdsman who is "upon the top of a mound," *Mabinogion* (p. 116; I, 228).

Now traces of such fairy mounds do seem to appear in *Owain* but are lacking in *Yvain*. The giant herdsman is twice said in *Owain* to be sitting on the top of a mound: "Thou wilt see a black man of great stature on the top of the mound" (p. 170; II, 8). "And the black man was there, sitting upon the top of the mound" (p. 171; II, 9). Moreover, in *Owain*, not in *Yvain*, the Fountain Perilous, where the Hostile Champion is met, seems to be at the summit of a large mound which has a meadow or green at the top like the mound of Nechta's sons.<sup>38</sup> "Ascend the wooded steep until thou comest to its summit; and there thou wilt find an open space like to a large valley" (p. 172; II, 10). "So I journeyed on, until I reached the summit of a steep, and there I found everything as the black man had described it to me" (p. 172; II, 11). "And they came to the top of the wooded steep, and traversed the valley till they reached the green tree" (p. 184; II, 26).

<sup>38</sup> Harmonious with the idea that this was originally a fairy mound (*sid*) from within which the fairy antagonist appeared, is the fact that the champion is heard approaching before he is seen: "Lo, a murmuring voice was heard through the valley, approaching me and saying 'O Knight, what has brought thee hither?'" (p. 173; II, 12). The Irish folk tale *In Gilla Decair*, preserves the feature of a green with a spring on the top of a mound, and also of the noise of a warrior approaching (probably within the mound) being heard before the antagonist is visible. The hero heard "the heavy tread of a body of warriors and the clang of arms" (*Iwain: A Study*, p. 105). In Chrétien's *Perceval* the visitor to the Grail Castle first mounted a hill (*puys*), and then saw the Castle in a depression of the hill (*an un val*) lines 3012 f., ed. Baist, Freiburg, 1910.



It is in harmony with the more primitive character of *Owain* that it represents Arthur in his journey to the Fountain as encountering the Hospitable Host and the Monster Herdsman, and repeats the tale about these characters in true Märchen style (p. 184; II, 26). Chrétien makes no mention of Arthur's encountering either Hospitable Host or Monster Herdsman.<sup>37</sup>

In the description of the horse given by the Countess of the fairy balsam to Owain, we seem to have traces of a fairy steed:

"I will even give him a horse and arms forever; such a horse and such arms had he never yet, and I am glad that they should be taken by him" (p. 189; II, 34).

There is nothing of this in the French.

In the more primitive tale, after Lunete had been made prisoner by the Seneschal and his two brothers, who have evidently usurped Ivain's place as defenders of the fountain, naturally only Ivain could be thought of as a possible rescuer. *Owain* preserves this feature; Lunete thinks of none but Owain as a savior (p. 191; II, 37). Chrétien, introducing ideas from a later development of Arthurian story, makes Lunete think of either Gawain, or Ivain, as possible rescuers. In an original form, the folktale is likely to have had but one hero, and that must have been Owain.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>37</sup> In *Owain*, after the funeral of the Countess's husband, Lunete offered to go to Arthur's court to secure a warrior who might defend the fountain as well as formerly (p. 181; II, 23 f.). She secured the Countess's consent to this, and after taking time enough to have gone to Arthur, brought in Owain, and then in Owain's presence argued that he was the man to defend the fountain, since he had shown his strength by slaying the former defender. No decisive argument can be based upon this, but it is probable that *Owain* is here nearer to the folktale, and that the change in *Yvain* where Lunete persuaded Laudine to send for Ivain, and had everything arranged before Ivain came (line 1686 f.), is less primitive, and is due to Chrétien's desire to spin out a psychological discussion of conduct between mistress and maid as much as possible. This discussion is necessarily cut short unless Lunete disclosed the identity of the warrior she is sending for.

<sup>38</sup> One passage, which according to Foerster, shows a misunderstanding on the part of the Welsh writer, is really entirely consistent with the Welsh story, although different from the French. After Owain has saved Luned from death at the stake the Welsh reads: "Then Owain returned with Luned to the dominions of the Countess of the Fountain" (p. 194; II, 40). Foerster remarks that this is unoriginal because the Fountain is adjacent to the Castle of the Countess, Foerster, *Yvain* (1887), p. xxv. True it is that the Fountain cannot be far from the Castle of the Countess, but Foerster has failed to observe that in

Finally, in the description of the marvellous storm at the Fountain Perilous it seems certain that Chrétien has misunderstood a statement in his original, to the effect that the storm stripped all the leaves off the marvellous tree, and has represented the leaves of the tree simply as covered up by the birds that settled upon it. The passage in *Yvain* runs:

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" Vi sor le pin tant amassez  
Oisiaus (s'est, qui croire m'an vuelle),  
Qu'il n'i paroît branche ne fuelle,  
Que tot ne fust covert d'oisiaus."

*Owain* preserves the original feature of the leaves having been stripped from the tree by the storm. It is not possible to explain *Owain* as based upon a mistaken reading of *Yvain*,<sup>39</sup> because *Owain* repeats the statement at three different places and motivates it in a thoroughly natural way:

"And the shower will be of hailstones; and after the shower, the weather will become fair, but every leaf that was upon the tree will have been carried away by the shower" (p. 172; II, 11).

"When I [Kynon] looked on the tree there was not a single leaf upon it" (p. 173; II, 12).

"When Owain looked at the tree there was not one leaf upon it" (p. 176; II, 16).

In *Yvain* the storm was "of snow, rain and hail" and broke down many trees. In *Owain* the storm is thus described:

"There is neither man nor beast that could endure that shower and live. For not one of those hailstones would be stopped, either by the flesh or by the skin, until it had reached the bone" (p. 173; II, 12).

"Many of the attendants who were in Arthur's train were killed by the shower" (p. 184; II, 27).

We have here to do with that elfin storm from fairy-land which is often encountered by the adventurer to the Other World. Thus in the genuine Mabinogi, in "Manawyddan the Son of Llyr," after a peal of thunder and a fall of mist, Pryderi and Rhiannon vanish into the Other World (p. 50; I, 107). The idea of a thunder storm

*Owain* the place of Luned's imprisonment is not the Chapel by the Fountain, as in *Yvain*, but a "vault of stone." *Owain* tells nothing whatever about the location of the "vault of stone," and it may have been outside of the dominions of the Countess. The Welsh version is not inconsistent with itself.

<sup>39</sup> As Foerster tried to do, *Yvain* (1887), p. xxvi.

and a fall of mist accompanying the entrance into the Other World occurs also at an earlier passage in the same branch of the Mabinogi (p. 45; I, 101).

In the Irish *Tuait Baile Mongain*, edited by Kuno Meyer in the *Voyage of Bran*, from several MSS., among which is LU, which dates at least as early as 1100, we read:

"A great hailstorm came upon them there. Such was its greatness that the one shower left twelve chief streams in Ireland forever" (*Voyage of Bran*, I, pp. 56-58).

After this storm Mongain, his seven men, his queen and his shanachie found themselves in the Other World.

In *Fled Bricrend*, Loigaire went to assail a mysterious giant (*fathach*). He encountered "a dim dark heavy mist," and a "hideous black dark cloud so that he was unable to see either heaven or earth." Conall and Cuchulinn, who successively set out, met the same obstacles (ed. Henderson, pp. 44-49, from LU, cf. the summary of this story above, pp. 166-7).

In *Compert Conculaind*, Conchobar, Conall and Bricriu, on the way to the house of Lug (a fairy monarch), met a storm:

"There fell a great snow upon them also" (*Feraid snechta mór foroib dano*). They ultimately reached the fairy house and were mysteriously fed with all manner of meats, but the house and its belongings vanished from them in the night (ed. Windisch, *Irische Texte*, I, 137, from LU. Cf. *Voyage of Bran*, II, 41; *Revue Celtique*, IX, 11).<sup>40</sup>

\*The Other World Storm is mentioned in many Celtic stories which are probably ancient, but which exist only in later MSS. Conn passed through a great mist and darkness to reach the Palace of Lug, in the *Baile an Scail, Voyage of Bran*, I, 187. When King Cormac and his people set out for the Palace of Manannán "a great mist was brought upon them in the midst of the plain," *Echtra Cormaic, Irische Texte*, III, 1, 213. When Finn and his men are on their way to the Palace of the Tuatha dé Danaan (a story which has many parallels to the *Yvain*, see *Mod. Phil.*, IX, 116, note) it is said: "Heavy snow poured down now, making of the forest's branches as it were a withe-twist; the greatness of the foul weather and of the storm robbed us of our lustihood and of our resourcefulness," *Acallamh na Senórach*, O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, II, 222 (text I, 196). In the story of Art's voyage to the Other World occurs the phrase "swiftly uprose the waves and the firmament trembled," *Echtra Airt, Eriu*, III, 157. In the Welsh *Preiddeu Annwn*, "Spoils of Annwn," in the *Book of Taliesin*, Arthur on his voyage to the Other World encountered a storm. "The twilight and pitchy darkness were mixed together," Skene, *Four An-*

In the preceding pages it has been shown:

1. There is no shred of evidence to prove any influence of *Yvain* upon *Owain*, except the occurrence of the word "nail" in a corresponding passage of both stories, and this can be explained equally well by supposing that the word has been retained in both from a common source *x*.

2. It is not possible to explain the more archaic character of *Owain* upon the hypothesis of a quick-witted Welsh redactor, who perceived the original meaning of *Yvain*, and retransformed it into something like the folk-tales of Celtic lands, from one of which it had formerly sprung. The Welsh redactors show that they did not understand the thread of the story any better than Chrétien. They are clearly operating in good faith, and reproducing something pretty much as they found it. Or, if an attempt be made to meet these difficulties by imagining a first Welsh redactor, who was consciously altering the story to make it resemble a fairy tale, but was followed by stupid copyists, who caused blunders of detail, it then becomes incredible that these stupid copyists should have managed to eliminate all of the explanatory phrases which a consciously constructive artist would certainly have put into his narrative.

3. A third hypothesis has been suggested: *Owain* is based entirely upon *Yvain*, but the Welsh redactor, or redactors, more or less unconsciously modified their original so as to bring it into line with the marvellous Celtic stories with which they were familiar. Some hypothesis of this sort is the only refuge of those who insist that *Owain* has no other source than *Yvain*. But it is thought that few unprejudiced observers can read in the above pages the list of primitive details unique in *Owain*, and believe that Welsh redactors inserted them all, with only Chrétien's text as a basis, and with no understanding of the original Otherworld character of Chrétien's almost wholly rationalized romance. Some of the less tangible parallels indicated above, between *Owain* and Celtic story, may, no doubt, be rejected by various scholars, but, setting aside all doubtful

*cient Books*, I, 265 (text II, 181). For other references see my "Knight of the Lion," *P. M. L. A.*, XX, 677, note 8. The passage through this elfin storm seems to be another form of the motive of a dive through the water of a spring or lake which in many Irish stories, notably in the folk-tale *In Gilla Decair*, is the mode of entrance to the Other World. See my "Iwain, A Study," *Harvard Studies and Notes*, VIII, 105.

matters, it would seem that enough decisive analogies are left to put the independent character of *Owain* beyond doubt. The cumulative evidence of many passages shows that *Owain* is inherently closer to the fairy story and essentially independent in character from Chrétien's *Yvain*.

If the Welsh writers were unconsciously touching up the story to make it resemble the marvellous Celtic tales which they had heard, they would have scattered their splendid decorations promiscuously throughout the narrative. This they did not do. No golden chairs are mentioned at Arthur's palace at the beginning of *Owain*. Golden chairs, silver tables, etc., occur only at the Castle of the Hospitable Host and that of the Countess of the Fountain, where they are most naturally explained as surviving traces of primitive Otherworld decorations.<sup>41</sup>

Finally, the passages in *Owain* about the leaves stripped off the tree, could not possibly have sprung from any misunderstanding of *Yvain*, nor could they have been manufactured out of *Yvain* by any redactor, however skillful. Chrétien has misunderstood his original. The Welsh *Owain* indicates what that original must have been like. Only hypotheses 4 and 5, set forth as probable on page 157 above, seem, therefore, to explain all the facts.

Either *Owain* and *Yvain* are quite independent, although based upon a common source *x*, or, less probably, *Owain* is essentially based upon *x*, though influenced by *Yvain*. It seems impossible to decide between these two hypotheses, which were successively held by Gaston Paris.<sup>42</sup> Nor is it necessary. In either case the independent importance of *Owain* is clear.

ARTHUR C. L. BROWN.

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY,  
14 May, 1912.

<sup>41</sup> Similarly in *Geraint* we read of no golden chairs at Arthur's court, or at any of the other castles mentioned, except only at the place of the "enchanted games" (p. 243; II. 171), which is a partly rationalized Otherworld abode.

<sup>42</sup> See *Romania*, X, 467 (1881); XIX, 157; XX, 156-7 (1891).

## ARTHURIANA

### I

#### GAWAIN'S SLAYING OF THE KNIGHTS OF THE GRAIL-QUEST IN THE EARLY PRINTS OF LANCELOT DU LAC

IN her *Legend of Sir Lancelot du Lac* (London, 1901), p. 137, note, Miss J. L. Weston writes as follows of the passage which begins the narrative in the *Mort Artu* (*Mort Artur*) of the Walter Map or Vulgate cycle of the Arthurian prose romances:

The passage which represents Gawain as admitting himself to be the slayer of eighteen out of the twenty-two knights who have lost their lives in the *Queste*, Baudemagus, his dearest friend according to the *Merlin Suite*, among them, should, I think, be printed at the end of the *Queste*, not at the beginning of the *Mort Artur*, where it is now generally found. It is entirely in accordance with the tone of the first-named romance, and out of keeping with the latter. Moreover, both the Dutch *Lancelot* and the 1533 version print it in the former position.

She repeats the same opinion, pp. 145, 184, of her book and in *Folk-Lore*, XX, 497 f. (1909). In my edition of the *Mort Artu* (Halle, 1910), p. 265, I pointed out that all the MSS. of these romances in the British Museum and Bibliothèque Nationale<sup>1</sup> (and I might have added, the Bodleian)—in fact, all the MSS. that have ever been examined—show the passage in question at the beginning of the *Mort Artu* and not at the end of the *Queste*, and I accordingly remarked that “until evidence to the contrary is produced from manuscripts more authoritative than these—a very unlikely supposition—we may accept the passage as belonging to the *Mort Artu*.” In her review of my edition, *Romania*, XL, 133 ff. (1911), Miss Weston says in reply to this:

<sup>1</sup> Five in the British Museum, twenty in the Bibliothèque Nationale (if we count the fragmentary MS. 343 which, however, preserves the beginning of the romance). In my list of the MSS. of the *Mort Artu* in the Bibliothèque Nationale, pp. xiii ff., I omitted, through oversight, MS. 122 (dated 1344).

I must adhere to my original opinion that it [*i. e.*, the passage in question] belongs of right to the *Queste* and was borrowed by the compiler of this version of the M. A., or an early copyist, to connect "tant bien que mal" the two romances. The fact that it is found in all the MSS. of this M. A. need prove no more than that it was borrowed at an early stage of that romance. The editor is careful to note the dependance of the M. A. on the Q., which he holds to be the older, as in one sense it is, though in the process of evolution the romances have mutually influenced each other. A priori, it is more probable that M. A. should borrow from Q. than vice-versa and the versions in which I found the passage included in the Q. [*i. e.*, the Dutch *Lancelot* and print of 1533] offer a singularly complete and accurate text of that romance.

I pass over for the present this estimate of the Dutch *Lancelot* as also the assumption (for which no proof has as yet been produced) underlying the terms "compiler" and "process of evolution," since I shall discuss these matters in detail in a paper on the development of the Death-of-Arthur theme from the verse-chronicles down, which I expect soon to publish. What I now wish to do is merely to point out that Miss Weston is mistaken in asserting that the 1533 print shows the passage concerning Gawain and the knights who lost their lives in the *Queste* at the end of the *Queste* instead of at the beginning of the *Mort Artu*. It does nothing of the kind. In my edition of the *Mort Artu* (p. 265), I was unwary enough to accept Miss Weston's statement on the subject, observing, however: "The Dutch *Lancelot* and the 1533 print can have no weight in such a matter as against the authority of the manuscripts." On looking up the question last summer in the Bodleian Library, I noted Miss Weston's error. Here is the conclusion of the *Queste* and the beginning of the *Mort Artu* in the edition of 1533 (Paris: Philippe Lenoir), Part III, fol. CXV (verso):

Vng an et deux moys vesquit Perceval en hermitage et puis trespassa du siecle si le fist Boort enterrer au palays espirituel et quant Boort se veit seul en si loingtaines terres comme es parties de Babiloyne il pensa qu'il retourneroit au royaulme de Logres, lors se partit de la cite de Sarras et erra tant qu'il vint a la mer si entra en vne nef et lui advint si bien quen assez petit de terme arriua dè Logres si cheuaucha tant qu'il vint en la cite de Kamalot ou le roy Artus estoit et sa compaignie si ne fut oncques si grant ioye faicte comme les compaignons de la table ronde luy firent et aussi fist le



roy Artus et sa femme, car bien le cuydoient auoir perdu. Quant Boort fut venu en court si comme vous auez ouy et ilz eurent disne le roy Artus fist venir les clerz qui les aduentures aux cheualiers mettoient en escript et quant Boort eut compte depuis le commencement iusques a la fin les aduentures du saint Graal telle[s] comme il les auoit veues et il eut compte comment Galaad et Perceual moururent et furent enterrez au palays espirituel en la cite de Sarras et comment la seur de Perceual mourut et fut enterree au palays espirituel a (col. 2) uec les autres si fist le roy Artus rediger et mettre par escript aus ditz clerz tout ce que Boort auoit racompte et aussi tout le contenu dicy deuant. Et tant se taist le compte des aduentures du Saint Graal et retourne a la mort du roy Artus.

Cy fine la quatriesme partie de cestuy liure en laquelle est faicte mention de la conquete du saint Graal mise a fin par le vaillant cheualier Galaad filz de Lancelot du lac et de la fille au roy Perles.

Or<sup>2</sup> dit le compte que quant Boort fut venu a court en la cite de Kamalot de si loingtaines parties comme estoient les parties de Hierusalez assez trouua a la court du roy Artus qui grant feste luy fist car ilz desiroient moult tous et toutes a le veoir. Quant il eut racompte les trespasement de Galaad et la mort de Perceual ilz en furent moult dolens a la court mais toutesfoys ils se reconforterent au mieulx qu'ilz peurent. Lors fist mettre le Roy Artus en escript toutes les aduentures du Saint Graal que les compaignons de la queste auoient racomptees en sa court et quant il eut ce fait il dist. Beaulx seigneurs regardez entre vous quantz de noz compaignons nous auons perdus en ceste queste. Et ils regarderent incontinent si trouuerent qu'il leur en failloit vingt et deux du vray compte et de tous ceulx qu'il n'y auoit vng tout seul qui ne fust mort par armes. Le roy Artus auoit ouy dire que monseigneur Gauuain en auoit occis plusieurs si le fist venir deuant luy et luy dist. Gauuain ie vous requiers sur le serment que vous fistes quant ie vous feis cheualier premierement que vous me dictes que ie vous demanderay. Sire dist Gauuain vous mauuez tant coniuere que ie ne lairroye en nulle maniere que ie ne vous deisse la verite et fusse ma honte trop plus grande que iamais aduint a cheualier. Or ie vous

<sup>2</sup> With this begins the *Mort Artu*. It will be observed that the edition of 1533, like the other early prints, omits the prologue to the *Mort Artu* which represents Walter Map as composing this romance at King Henry's request. When I wrote note 5, p. xxiv, I had forgotten that the edition of 1533 was not peculiar in this respect. It is nevertheless true that the Italian version of the *Lancelot* (Venice, 1557-8) is translated from this edition. The table of contents of the former is translated *verbatim* from that of the latter. In the text I have noted that the Italian translator occasionally corrects errors of the French print.

demande dist le roy quantz cheualiers cuydez vous avoir tuez de vostre main et Gauvain pensa vng petit et le roy luy dist de rechief. Par mon chief ie le vueil scauoir pource que aucuns vont disant que vous en auez tant occis que merueilles. Sire dist Gauvain vous voulez estre certain de ma meschancete et ie la vous diray, car ie voy bien que dire le me conuient. Je vous dy pour vray que ien ay bien faict mourir par ma main dix huyt nompas que ie fusse meilleurs Cheualier que nul autre mais (fol. 116, col. 1) aduenture se tourna plus vers moy que vers mes compaignons, etc. Gawain then confesses to killing Baudemagus (Bagdemagus).

The editions of 1494, 1494-[1503], 1513 and 1520 show the passage also in just the same place—at the beginning of the *Mort Artu*. The British Museum copy of the 1488 print is defective in this part and there is no copy in that library of the remaining editions, viz., those of 1533 (Jehan Petit) and 1591 (Lyons: Ben. Rigaud),<sup>3</sup> so I cannot speak of these three editions, but there is no reason to believe that they differ from the rest. Moreover, all the numerous manuscripts in the British Museum, Bodleian and Bibliothèque Nationale (except, of course, those that are defective at this point)—and there is no ground for supposing that the few scattered MSS. in other European libraries disagree with them—show, as said above, the passage at the beginning of the *Mort Artu*. Now, does Miss Weston mean to maintain seriously that we should set aside the unvarying testimony of the manuscripts and early prints, because the Dutch metrical version<sup>4</sup> shows the passage in question at the end of the *Queste*? In view of the state of things just described, it would make no difference what arrangement the Dutch poem might exhibit; but, as a matter of fact, the reason why the passage in question has been put at the end of the *Queste* in

<sup>3</sup> Jehan Petit's edition of 1533, which is not to be confounded with Philippe Lenoir's of the same year, is not, in any event, likely to be very authoritative. Miss Weston, *Romania*, xl, 133, note, describes it as "taken from a MS. inferior to that at the base of the Le Noir, 1533." The same, I believe, is true of the 1591 print, if one may judge by its comparative brevity. According to M. Louis Engerand of the Bibliothèque Nationale it bears the title: *Histoire contenant les grandes prouesse, vaillances et heroiques faits d'armes de Lancelot du Lac* and (apart from the table of contents) consists of 166 pages.

<sup>4</sup> According to W. J. A. Jonckbloet in his edition of the poem (*Roman van Lancelot*: The Hague, 1846-9), Part I, p. lviii, the unique MS. belongs to the first half of the 14th century. The poem, itself, was no doubt composed somewhat earlier.

that work is perfectly obvious. The *Queste* in the Dutch poem ends at p. 76 of Jonckbloet's edition, Part II, and the *Mort Artu* at p. 189. Between the two the Dutch poet has inserted an immense amount of material drawn from French romances, now lost for the most part (see Jonckbloet's analysis, Part II, p. clxxiii). Owing to this great body of interpolated romance material, it would have been absurd for the author to have begun his *Mort Artu* with an allusion to incidents of the *Queste* which should imply that they were vividly present to the minds of his readers—so he simply transferred<sup>5</sup> the passage to the end of the *Queste*.<sup>6</sup>

Immediately after the passage quoted above from Miss Weston's review of my edition of the *Mort Artu*, she proceeds:

The editor fails to note that while Gawain makes the very natural excuse that this wholesale killing of his brother knights was by "meschéance" Arthur tells him it was by "péchiet." We all know that to the author of *Q[ueste]* Gawain is the "awful example," his name a synonym for materialism and sensuality, while in the *M[ort] A[r]tu* he is the man dearest to Arthur's heart, the most valiant of knights save Lancelot, who, it is carefully explained, is by many years his junior. The decisive proof [that the passage belonged to the *Queste* originally and not the *Mort Artu*], however, lies in the fact that Bagdemagus, whose death at Gawain's hands is ground for the bitterest reproaches brought against that knight, is in Malory and his English source [*i. e.*, the Harleian *Morte Arthur*, whose parallelism with Malory, however, as I have tried to prove in *Anglia*, XXIII, 67 ff., is really due to their use of a common French source] still living in the M. A. [*i. e.*, in the versions of the *Mort Arthur* theme, contained in those works]. He sides with Lancelot in his war with the King, and acts as his councillor.

This is Miss Weston's argument for setting aside the whole

<sup>5</sup> The transference may, of course, be due to the compiler of the French MS. which the Dutch poet was using.

<sup>6</sup> In connection with this discussion it is perhaps well to recall the following passage in the review of Miss Weston's *Legend of Sir Lancelot* by W. W. Greg, *Folk-Lore*, xii, 496 f. (1901): "Thus it appears that the theory [advanced by Miss Weston] of the opposing groups of D[utch]. L[ancelot], 1533 [*i. e.* the print of 1533] and M[alory], on the one hand, and all the B[ritish] M[useum] texts on the other is a pure phantasm, the result of imperfect comparison and careless analysis on Dr. Sommer's part." Miss Weston based her comparison as far as the B. M. texts were concerned on Dr. Sommer's analysis in vol. 3 of his edition of Malory, 1889-91.

tradition of the manuscripts and early prints. Now, even if the point raised in the first two sentences just quoted did betray an inconsistency, surely this would not justify such a violent procedure as is involved in the change which she proposes; but, as a matter of fact, what difficulty is there in the passage? Let us suppose that the author of the *Mort Artu* was familiar with both the *Lancelot* proper and the *Queste*. In these two books Gawain's character is differently portrayed. In the former he is still, as in the verse-romances, a knight of the highest excellence, only he is naturally subordinated to Lancelot, the hero of the story. In the *Queste*, on the other hand, as Miss Weston has remarked, his character is blackened. The author of the *Mort Artu* adopted, to be sure, the conception of the character which he found in the *Lancelot*, but, if he was writing a romance which was to follow immediately on the *Queste*, why should he not at the beginning of his work make Arthur refer to the slaying of the knights in the spirit of the *Queste*?<sup>7</sup> Certainly we have no right to be surprised if a medieval writer does not exempt even his hero entirely from the imputation of sin.

Finally, as regards the "decisive proof" which is furnished by Malory (who completed his compilation in 1469 or 1470) and "his English source," the Harleian *Morte Arthur* (end of the fourteenth century), one cannot help feeling some astonishment at Miss Weston's off-hand acceptance of these late versions as representing a more primitive form of the Mort Arthur theme than the Vulgate *Mort Artu*. Because the author of the Harleian *Morte Arthur* in stanza 322 (ll. 2564-71) introduces Bagdemagus (Baudemagus) as (along with other knights) giving Lancelot counsel in the war with Arthur, although in the *Queste* he had been killed by Gawain, are we to assume that the lost French original<sup>8</sup> of this version

<sup>7</sup> It seems strange that Miss Weston should make this ado about the present passage, when immediately after it we find regularly in the MSS. (see my edition, p. 37) an unmistakable allusion to the *Queste*—Lancelot's confession to the hermit. She might as well propose to remove that too.

<sup>8</sup> A sign of the lateness of this original occurs in the very next stanza of the Harleian romance, where we have a duplication of Lancelot's famous friend Galehot—if indeed, the author really wishes to distinguish this character from that friend (who had already died in the *Lancelot* proper). This Galehot is also introduced elsewhere in the Harleian *Morte Arthur*.

(which itself exists in only one MS.) was composed before the Vulgate *Mort Artu*? This is surely a slender peg to hang so weighty a conclusion on. Only in this one stanza does Bagdemagus appear in the poem. Similarly in Malory he appears only once (p. 831 of Sommer's edition)—namely, at the corresponding point in the narrative. It is obvious that this passing mention of the character may quite well have been due to a momentary inadvertency, to say nothing of ignorance. To conclude, then, it seems to me that the "decisive proof" is still wanting.

## II

### ARTHUR'S SON *Lohot*

The occurrence of this character in the French Arthurian romances is one of the clearest indications that the authors of those works drew directly from Welsh tradition, independently of Geoffrey of Monmouth and his derivatives.<sup>9</sup> The fact that he appears to have played a subordinate part in Welsh saga as well as in the romances makes the relation all the more significant. It may be of interest to examine more closely than has been done the passages in Welsh literature and the medieval romances which are concerned with this character.

First for those in Welsh literature, which, as will be observed, are very meager. The earliest, no doubt, are the passages in the *Black Book of Caermarthen*, in which we have merely obscure allusions to the death of this son of Arthur, *Llachau*, as he is called. I quote from the translation in W. F. Skene's *The Four Ancient Books of Wales*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1868. Vol. I, p. 263, of this work we find in the "Poems referring to Arthur the Guledig" the line: "Unmerited was the death of Cai the fair and Llachau" (= *Black Book of C.*, XXXI). *Ibid.*, p. 295, in the "Poems referring to Gwyddno and Gwynn ap Nudd" occurs the stanza (from *Black Book*, XXXIII):

I have been where Llachau was slain,  
The son of Arthur, extolled in songs,  
When the ravens screamed over blood.

<sup>9</sup> Lohot does not occur in these writers.

Llachau is here simply one of a number of dead heroes mentioned in successive stanzas.

Furthermore, in the *Dream of Rhonabwy*, J. Loth's *Mabinogion* (2 vols., Paris, 1889), I, 312, "Llacheu," son of Arthur, is enumerated among the king's counsellors, and in a Triad (see *ibid.*, II, 27) he is called one of the three *deiriawc*<sup>10</sup> of the isle of Prydein.

The earliest mention of the character in the French romances is that in Chrétien's *Erec*, l. 1732. He is there named in the famous list of Round Table heroes:

Et uns vaslez de grant vertu  
Loholz li fiz le roi Artu.<sup>11</sup>

The name next occurs in the *Lanzelet* of Ulrich von Zatzikhoven (end of twelfth century), pp. 161 ff. (ll. 6875 ff.) of the edition by K. A. Hahn (Frankfurt a. M., 1845). This poem, as the author tells us, is based on one in French which was brought to Vienna by Hugues de Morville (in 1194), one of the hostages for Richard Cœur-de-Lion. In the passage just referred to Lohût, son of Arthur and Guinevere, hears of Guinevere's captivity in Falerin's castle. The poet says of him:

dirre selbe jungelinc  
was an tugenden vollekomen.  
wir hân selten vernomen  
von keiner slahte maere  
daz dehein ritter waere  
hübscher: daz wart dicke schin.  
künec Artus was der vater sin  
und Ginovere sin muoter.  
dirre helt guoter  
der hiez Lohût der milde.

<sup>10</sup> J. Loth explains, "probablement inventeurs, qui devinent la nature des choses."

<sup>11</sup> We have accordingly in Hartmann von der Aue's *Erec*, I. 1664: "Lohût fil roy Artûs." I may add that in the list of Arthurian knights in *Die Crône* by Heinrich von dem Türlin we have, l. 2322: "Und Loez li fil li rei." Apparently he did not recognize the identity of this character with Hartmann's *Lohût*, for, ll. 2248 ff., he says that he is naming those knights who are not known to Hartmann. See the edition of *Die Crône* by G. H. F. Scholl, Stuttgart, 1852 (Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, vol. 27).

The young man laments his mother's situation before Lancelot and the rest, who feel pity for him. The poet continues:

wan ich wil iu waerliche sagen,  
für daz er swert begunde tragen,  
daz nie kein kindischer man  
kürlobes mê gewan,  
unz daz er in ein lant gereit,  
als uns diu âventiure seit,  
mit Artûs sinem vater hêr  
da ir noch beider immer mêr  
die Britûne bitent,  
wan si dar umbe stritent,  
daz si noch sûln wider komen.  
daz maere hânt ir dicke vernomen,  
dâ von lâz ich ez an sie.<sup>12</sup>

After some debate Tristan suggests that they shall enlist the aid of the enchanter, Malduck. They do this and Guinevere is delivered. Lohûr is not mentioned again in the poem.

Probably the next mention of the character occurs in the prose *Lancelot*, Sommer's *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, III, 159, where he is named as one of the knights imprisoned in Dolerouse Garde: "Lohot li fiex le roi Artu quil engendra en la bele damoisele qui auoit non Lisanor, deuant che quil espousa la roine; et en chele prison prist il le mal de la mort."

In the *Perlesvaus*,<sup>13</sup> however,—the romance through which the character is best known—we find Lohot as in Ulrich von Zatzikhoven the son of Guinevere, and his death is accounted for in another manner. In Welsh tradition, as far as we know, neither Lisanor nor Guinevere was Lohot's mother. It was as easy for the French romancers to assign him the one mother as the other, although, of

<sup>12</sup> The idea that the Britons expected a son of Arthur to return with him is not found elsewhere. This is probably an invention of Ulrich's French original.

<sup>13</sup> In her *Legend of Sir Lancelot du Lac*, p. 130, note 2, Miss J. L. Weston remarks that, as far as she is aware, the *Perlesvaus* is the only prose-romance that knows Lohot. It will be seen below, however, that he is found in other prose romances. Besides, I have already mentioned the *Lancelot*. Miss Weston conjectures plausibly that the "Ilinot" of Wolfram von Eschenbach—both *Parzival* and *Titarel*—is identical with Lohot. He loved Florie and early lost his life in her service, "als ir wol hât vernomen," *Parzival*, xii, 101.



course, in Welsh stories Guinevere is more likely to have filled that place. In the *Perlesvaus*, Potvin's edition I, 140 ff., Arthur, who is holding court at Pannenoiseuse en Gales, inquires of Lancelot and Gawain whether they have seen his son, Lohot.<sup>14</sup> They reply that they have not.

Je me merveil mout, fet li rois, qu'il est devenuz, car je n'an oi plus noveles que que Kex li seneschaus ocist Logrin le jaient, dont il m'aporta le chief, de quoi je fis mout grant joie et l'en crui sa terre mout volentiers; et si dui-je bien feire, car il me venga de celui qui me damajoit ma terre plus que nus; si l'en ain mout. Mès, se li rois séust comment Kex avoit exploitié envers lui, il ne l'ennourast mie tant sa chevalerie ne son hardement.

The comment in the last sentence is explained by the story of Lohot's death which the hermit tells Perceval, Potvin, I, 170. From this it appears that Lohot had slain the giant Logrin and according to a strange custom of his had gone to sleep on the dead body. Kai came along, cut off the heads of both Lohot and the giant, put Lohot's remains in a coffin, took the giant's head to Arthur's court, where he claimed the credit of having killed him.<sup>15</sup> Later on, pp. 219 ff., a damsel comes to court with a *coffre* containing Lohot's head and the story of his death is repeated. Guinevere recognizes the head as her son's from a scar on it,<sup>16</sup> p. 222: "Après prist le

<sup>14</sup> In Potvin's edition we have the nominative forms, *Lohous*, *Lohos* and oblique, *Lohout*, *Lohot*.

<sup>15</sup> Doubtless imitated from Thomas's *Tristan* (Bédier's *Roman de Tristan*, I, 117 ff., Société des anciens textes français, 1902), where the seneschal tries to rob Tristan of the credit of having killed the dragon. Lohot's sleeping on the corpse of his slain enemy belongs, I fancy, to folklore (Celtic?).

<sup>16</sup> This is imitated in the *Huth-Merlin*, I, 204, ed. G. Paris and J. Ulrich, Soc. des anc. textes, p. 1886. The infant Mordred gets a similar scar through an accident, whilst being put into the cradle. So too of Elaine in MS. Royal, 19, C. XIII, of the Vulgate *Mort Artu*, p. 75 (note). I find on investigation, however, that none of the MSS. of that romance in the Bibliothèque Nationale have this feature and it is no doubt peculiar to the British Museum MS. just mentioned. This MS., fol. 345a, col. 1, has also *Orgilleuse Garde* for the usual *Joyeuse Garde* (Lancelot's castle)—again, I believe, under the influence of the *Perlesvaus*, where we have a *Castel Orgueilleux*. To be sure there is an *Orgueilleuse Garde* in the *Lancelot* (prose), P. Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, IV, 92; and a *Castel Orgueilleux* in Thomas' *Tristan*, *Conte del Graal*, etc., Royal, 19, C, XIII, as I pointed out in my edition of the *Mort Artu*, p. vii, note, is in the Anglo-Norman dialect. It is interesting, then, to remark that this is the only MS. of an Arthurian prose romance in that dialect that has been so far observed. It

chief entre ses deus mains et le connut bien a une plaie qu'il ot el viaire d'anfance." She, herself, dies for grief on his account.

All these passages concerning Lohot in the *Perlesvaus* were taken over into the Welsh *Y seint Greal*, edited from the copy preserved among the Hengwrt MSS. in the Peniarth Library by the Rev. Robert Williams, London, 1876. They will be found respectively at pp. 617, 634, 659, 671 (cf. also 680) of that work. The name appears, p. 617, as *Loawt*, no doubt under the influence of the French, but everywhere else as *Llacheu*, a variant of the original Welsh form.

The *Merlin* continuation, or *Livre d'Artus*, as it is called, of MS. 337 (Bibl. Nat.), contains in the following passage, *Zs. f. franz. Sprache u. Literatur*, XVII, 43 f. (1895), evidently a reminiscence of the *Perlesvaus*. I quote from E. Freymond's analysis:

Artus der über Merlin's Worte nachdenkt wird am Abend von schweren Sorgen heimgesucht; alsdann beunruhigt ihn folgender Traum: er sieht wie sein Sohn Lohot am Tage da er den Ritterschlag empfangen, in einen finsternen Wald geht und dort ein wildes Tier bekämpft; vom Kampf erschöpft, schläft Lohot ein und Kei kommt hinzu der Lohot einen weissen Vogel fortnimmt und ihn fliegen lässt. Dann erhebt sich ein Nebel, sodass Artus Lohot nicht mehr sehen kann. Zunächst denkt Artus nicht mehr an den Vogel; erst durch einen unbekannten Ritter wird er wieder daran erinnert. Kei wird alsdann über die That ausgefragt und muss dieselbe nach vergeblichem Leugnen endlich zugeben. Kei soll ausser Landes gehen; da schien es als ob er Artus die Krone vom Haupte nehmen wollte, welche ihm aber von Gavain wieder aufgesetzt wurde.

Later on, *ibid.*, p. 92, when Guinevere and Lorete escape from Karduel and are brought to a forest by Giflet, Lohot sees their flight and informs Giflet's father and the citizens about their escape.

The author (or authors) of the *Livre d'Artus* of the Vulgate *Merlin* used both the prose *Lancelot* and the *Perlesvaus* in what he says about Lohot. He takes the account of how he was begotten, Sommer, *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, II, 124,

occurred to me that the MS. might have been written at Glastonbury, with which the *Perlesvaus* is supposed to be connected, but on inquiring of the officials of the MSS. Department of the British Museum I learned that nothing was known of its history.

from the former—the account of his death, *ibid.*, 316,<sup>17</sup> from the latter. So in this work Arthur on Merlin's advice makes the acquaintance of Lisanor, whose father (now dead) was Seuain, lord of the castle of Canparcorentin. She came to do homage to Arthur and he begot on her Lohot. The story of Lohot's death is alluded to in connection with a description of Kai. The latter, says the romance, p. 316, was a loyal knight "uers son signor et enuers la roine iusqua la mort, ne onques en sa uie ne fist traison cune seule, et cele fu de Loholt le fils au roy Artu que il ochist par enuie en la forest perilleuse et par Perceual le Galois en fu acuses a court ensi comme vns ermites li conta qui li auoit ueu ochire."<sup>18</sup>

It is plain from this discussion that as far as the prose romances are concerned the passages in the *Lancelot* and *Perlesvaus* are the only ones that have any original value. There are so many Arthurian heroes begotten under the circumstances indicated in the passage which we quoted above from the former that one may attribute this account safely to the invention of the French romancer. It is barely possible that the conception of Lohot's death in the *Perlesvaus* owes something to Celtic folklore, but it is evident from the way in which their names are coupled in the Welsh poem, *Black Book of Caermarthen*, XXXI, quoted in the beginning of this section of my article, that Kai was not rendered responsible for Lohot's death in Welsh tradition. The sum of it all seems to be that the French romancers merely learned from this tradition that Arthur had a son, Lohot, and that he died young<sup>19</sup>—a death of violence. Their imaginations supplied the rest.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> In the Middle English version of the Vulgate *Merlin*, edited by H. B. Wheatley for Early English Text Society (1868), the name is corrupted to *Hoot* in both passages. In Malory's version of the same, Book I, ch. 17 (Sommer's ed., p. 72) we have *Borre*. This *Borre* is doubtless the same as *Bohart le cure hardy* (also called Arthur's son) in Malory, Book XIX, ch. 11 (Sommer's ed., p. 793). Both names are, no doubt, corruptions of *Lohot*.

<sup>18</sup> This was recognized as an allusion to the *Perlesvaus* by E. Brugger in *Zs. f. fr. Sprache u. Litt.*, XXXIII, p. 192, note (1908). *Ibid.*, p. 190, he quotes a passage from MS. 751 of the Vulgate *Merlin*, where this MS. has *Lancelot* by mistake for *Lohout*.

<sup>19</sup> If Wolfram's *Ilinot*, as I believe, is identical with *Lohot*, his *Parzival* (drawing, of course, from a French source) preserves (see note above) the earliest notice that the character died young.

<sup>20</sup> As regards the transformation of Welsh *Llachau* into French *Lohout*

## III

## HELINANDUS AND THE DATE OF THE GRAIL-CYCLE

In the treatises on the Grail romances which appeared in the latter part of the last century the well-known allusion to the *Estoire del Saint Graal* or *Grand Saint Graal* in the Chronicle of Helinandus under the year 717 was generally accepted as fixing the date of this romance as earlier than 1204, inasmuch as the last entry in the Chronicle relates to events of that year. So, for instance, in Adolf Birch-Hirschfeld's *Sage vom Gral*, pp. 33 ff. (Leipzig, 1877), and R. Heinzel, *Über die französischen Gralromane*, p. 123 (Vienna, 1891). So too Alfred Nutt, in his *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, p. 52, note (London, 1888), where he says:

The chronicle ends in the year 1204, and must therefore have been finished in that or the following year and as the passage in question occurs in the earlier portion of the work it may be dated about two years earlier (Birch-Hirschfeld, p. 33). He adds, however: The Grand St. Graal is the only work of the cycle now existing to which Helinandus' words could refer, but it is a question whether he may not have had in view a work from which the Grand St. Graal took over its introduction.<sup>21</sup> Helinandus mentions the punning origin of the word "greal" (*infra*, p. 76), which is only hinted at in the Grand St. Graal, but fully developed elsewhere, e. g., in the Didot-Perceval and in Borron's poem.

Quite recently E. Brugger (in his review of my edition of the *Mort Artu*), *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, XXXVI, 208 (1910), criticizes me for my neglect of the passage

(*Lohot*) *Loholt* (nominative, *Loholz*); the process was, no doubt, parallel to that which we have in such variant forms as *Karaheu*, *Karaheut*, *Karaheult* in *Ogier le Danois*—only the earliest French form \**Lohou* is not found in the existing texts. *L* for *Li* and *h* for *ch* are, of course, mere graphic changes, and *o* and *a*, representing sounds easily confused in actual speech, are often miswritten the one for the other in mediaeval MSS. Prof. J. Loth has pointed out that the French forms of Arthurian names sometimes go back manifestly to written Welsh forms. So the name of Arthur's brother-in-law, *Loth* (see *Revue Celtique*, XVI, 84 ff.). I do not believe it is possible to say in the case of *Lohot*.

<sup>21</sup> This idea may have been suggested to Nutt by E. Martin's article in the *Zs. für deutsches Alterthum* for 1878, pp. 84 ff. (quoted in Nutt's book, p. 121). Martin thought that Helinandus's statement might have referred to an older version than the existing *Grand St. Graal*.

in Helinandus in its bearing on the date of the *Mort Artu*. He speaks of

die oft citierte Stelle des Chronisten Helinandus welche nicht wie man früher glaubte, nur auf den Grand-Saint-Graal, sondern auf den ganzen Gralzyklus (der auch "Gral" genannt wurde) Bezug hat (vergl. diese Zs. 29, p. 108) und nach welcher, wenigstens bei der natürlichen Auffassung, der Zyklus im Jahre 1204 oder bald nachher schon existierte.

Now, of course, like all Arthurian students, I was familiar with the passage, but I was deterred from using it in discussing the date of the *Mort Artu* by the consideration which Brugger himself states in the article (which he here refers to) in his "Studien zur Merlinsage," in the above-mentioned journal, XXIX, 108 f., as follows: "denn es ist doch nur eine Vermutung, allerdings die wahrscheinlichste, dass Helinand die von ihm erlebten Begebenheiten sofort niederschrieb." Only I differed from him as to the degree of probability. In so doing I was no doubt unconsciously influenced by the attitude of Gaston Paris and other scholars<sup>22</sup> in regard to this question. Paris, Introduction to *Huth-Merlin*, p. ix (2 vols., Paris, 1886), assigned even Robert de Boron's three poems, including the *Joseph*,<sup>23</sup> "au début du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle"—so manifestly the composition of the *Grand Saint Graal* was, in his opinion, later than 1204. The same thing is apparent from his review of Suchier and Birch-Hirschfeld's *Geschichte der französischen Literatur*. See *Mélanges de littérature française* (Gaston Paris), p. 47 (Paris, 1910), where on the score of date he protests again Suchier's idea that the French original of the *Lanzelet* of Ulrich von Zatzikhoven brought to Vienna in 1194 by Hugues de Morville could have been a prose romance. "En général M. Suchier me paraît, je l'ai déjà dit et le

<sup>22</sup> Thus in his *Sage vom heiligen Gral* (Halle, 1898) E. Wechssler does not refer to the Helinandus passage in connection with the question of date. Nor does G. Gröber in his *Grundriss*, Band II, Abteilung I, p. 996. He says: "Der neue Artus- und Graalroman ist Fortsetzung der unter den Namen Walter Map und Robert v. Borron gehenden Prosadichtungen von Lanzelet und vom Graal etwa des 2 Jahrzehnts des 13 Jhs."

<sup>23</sup> In the *Zs. f. fr. Spr. u. Lit.*, XXIX, 109, note, E. Brugger criticizes G. Paris for dating the extant redaction of de Boron's *Joseph* after 1212. On the other hand, Ferdinand Lot, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, LXX, 565 (1909) still holds to Paris's argument.

redirai encore, faire remonter trop haut les romans en prose." Similarly in his *Littérature française au moyen âge*, when discussing the date of the prose romances, pp. 107-9, he does not allude to Helinandus. Now, I agree with Brugger that the following words in this passage of Helinandus refer to the *Grand St. Graal* as the component part of a cycle (whether so complete as that cycle appears in our MSS. of the late thirteenth century we need not here consider): "Hanc historiam latine scriptam invenire non potui, sed tantum gallice scripta habetur a quibusdam proceribus, nec facile, ut aiunt, tota inveniri potest." But the question recurs, when was the Chronicle of Helinandus finished? What is the *terminus ante quem* of that work? That it was not 1204 (or very shortly thereafter) will be evident, I believe, from the following note to the edition (1905) of the same author's *Vers de la mort* by F. Wulff and E. Walberg (Société des anciens textes français), which has been overlooked in discussion of the Grail romances. The opinion of the editors is all the more worthy of attention since they stand outside of Arthurian controversy and are consequently free from bias. On p. xxv (note) of their Introduction they write as follows concerning the date of the chronicle of Helinandus:

La circonstance que sa Chronique de plus en plus sèche s'arrête à l'année 1204 s'explique peut-être par le fait, rapporté par Vincent de Beauvais, que Guérin, évêque de Senlis 1214-1227, chancelier de France, en avait égaré la plus grande partie—les 44 premiers livres, jusqu'à l'année 634 (voy. Hist. litt., XVIII, p. 93)—ce qui aura enlevé à Hélinant l'envie d'achever cette oeuvre. D'ailleurs Hélinant, qui ne fait guère ici que reproduire ce que d'autres avaient écrit avant lui, annonce lui-même déjà à la fin du livre 47 que les "notulae brevissimae" dont il comptait se servir pour la fin de sa chronique n'allaient que jusqu'à la 26<sup>e</sup> année du règne de *Philippus rex Francorum qui modo regnat, Ludovici regis filius et Ludovici nondum regis pater*. Ce passage prouve que la chronique a été composée avant 1223, date de la mort de Philippe Auguste. Un autre passage nous fait remonter au moins sept ans plus haut. Une douzaine de lignes avant la fin de la chronique, après avoir relaté la mort de Richard Cœur de Lion Hélinant dit: *Post quem regnat frater ejus Joannes*; or Jean sans Terre mourut en 1216.

The Chronicle of Helinandus, however, is not at every reader's elbow, so it is perhaps well to quote the text of the passage concern-



ing the "notulae brevissimae" referred to in this note. It will be found at col. 1010 (end of Book 47) in Migne's edition, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 212, and is as follows:

Hic finitur historia chronica Sigeberti quam scripsit ipse a primo anno Gratiani, id est ab anno Domini 380, usque ad hunc annum Henrici imperatoris 7, Ludovici Philippi filii, regis Francorum 4, Henrici regis Anglorum 13. Abhinc (1113) nullum chronographum reperi, nullumque historicum, de temporibus sequentibus continue scribentem. In quibusdam vero Chronicis Sigeberti post finem historiae ejus inveni annos chronici adnotatos et quasdam notulas brevissimas, unius tantum lineae capaces, super quosdam annos appositas; non continue, sicut fecit Sigebertus, qui nullum annum reliquit, in quo non aliquid adnotaverit sed interrupte, quibusdam annis absque adnotatione historica vacuis relictis, sicut Hieronymus et Prosper in suis Chronicis faciunt. Tales ergo notulas breves, et interruptas, sicut dixi, reperi ab hoc loco usque ad annum Philippi regis Francorum, qui modo regnat, Ludovici regis filius et Ludovici nondum regis pater, vicessimum sextum.<sup>24</sup> Quae igitur ab hoc loco positurus sum a certis auctoribus diligentissime undecunque collegi. Hic igitur liber quadragesimus septimus finem accipiat.

It is evident then that Helinandus was simply filling out the imperfect entries of the continuations of Sigebert's Chronicle which brought it down to the twenty-sixth year of Philip's reign, so no inference can be drawn from the ending of the Chronicle at 1204 that he finished his work in that year. On the contrary, the fact that he was using previously existing books which brought down the narrative to that year makes it probable that he himself was writing some years later. However this may be, it is indisputable that the true *terminus ante quem* for the composition of his Chronicle, as far as our present information goes, is 1216. Consequently the allusion to the *Grand Saint Graal* which it contains merely shows that this romance was in existence by the year 1216.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Philip Augustus was associated with his father as King from Nov. 1, 1179 (on which day he was crowned at Rheims). His father died Sept. 19, 1180. Taking the first date as the beginning of Philip's reign, he entered on the 26th year of his reign on Nov. 1, 1204. The last entry in Helinandus's Chronicle (Book 49) is "Civitas Constantinopolis a Francis capitur," which event occurred in 1204.

<sup>25</sup> The editors of Helinandus's *Vers de la mort* say, p. xxvi, that he must have died after 1229, since he preached at the synod of Toulouse in that year. This is the only evidence we have regarding the date of his death. He was in 1229



So much for the *Grand Saint Graal*. But what of the *Mort Artu*, to say nothing of the other romances of the Walter Map cycle? Now, as I pointed out in my edition of the *Mort Artu*, Introduction, p. xxviii, note 1, the *Grand Saint Graal* contains clear references (see Hucher's edition, *Saint Graal*, III, 270, 275) to the death of Guerrehet (*Mort Artu*, pp. 109, 139) and to Arthur's last battle as told in the *Mort Artu* (i. e., assigned to Salisbury Plains. See my note to *Mort Artu*, pp. 291 ff.). Speaking of the first of these references, I added: "Only a critical edition, however, will show whether this allusion belongs to the romance [i. e., the *Grand Saint Graal*] in its original form." This is, of course, a necessary reservation, but as long as nothing to the contrary has been brought to light, we may accept the passage as belonging to the *Grand Saint Graal* from the beginning, in which case the priority of the *Mort Artu* over that romance would be manifest.<sup>20</sup> The composition of the *Mort Artu*, accordingly, would also fall before the year 1216, contrary to the opinion which I expressed in my Introduction, p. xxxi, that it "was composed most likely in the twenties of the thirteenth century." I based that opinion in a considerable measure on an archaeological detail—namely, the fact that Lancelot's horse, p. 185 of the text, is represented as covered with armor down to the hoofs ("iusques en longle del piet"). The archaeological authorities whom I quoted state that horse-armor was not used at all until the beginning of the thirteenth century and so it did not seem to me that horse-armor of so highly developed a form as this was likely to have come into use until the century was considerably advanced. In his review of my edition, referred to above, E. Brugger, p. 208, attacked the statements of these authorities on general grounds. Now, whatever may be the validity of his objections, I

probably about 70 years old. What is here said should be noted especially in view of the contradictory statements on the subject by eminent scholars. Thus Gaston Paris, *Mélanges de littérature française*, p. 49, assigns the death of Helinandus to 1224; G. Gröber, *Grundriss*, Band II, Abteilung I, p. 195, to 1237 (a typographical error, I presume), but *ibid.*, p. 696, to 1227. I suppose that Brugger's "1237" in *Zs. f. fr. Spr. u. Lit.*, XXIX, 108, comes from the first of the passages in Gröber.

<sup>20</sup> It might be also maintained (even if it occurred generally in the MSS.) that the passage was inserted by an *assembleur* of the cycle. The evidence, however, that would justify the rejection of a passage on this ground would have to be of an exceptional character.

have myself observed some passages in the *Lancelot* proper (published since my *Mort Artu* appeared) which seem to show that the detail in question cannot be used for dating the *Mort Artu* so late. In Dr. H. O. Sommer's edition of the *Lancelot* (for the Carnegie Institution, Washington, D. C.), Part I, p. 413, I find it said of Yder: "le [i. e., his horse] fist il tot auant courir de fer." So *ibid.*, 67, 341, a horse is described as "couert de fer." Though we have nothing here quite like the "iusques en longle del piet" of the *Mort Artu*, nevertheless, the similarity is too great to make any inference safe as to a later dating for that romance. It would seem that already when the *Lancelot* was written—and this, as I remarked in my Introduction, p. xxxi, must have been a considerable number of years before the *Mort Artu*—elaborate horse-armor was in use.<sup>27</sup>

## IV

LAYAMON'S *Argant(e)*

After my discussion of the subject in *Modern Language Notes* for March, 1911,<sup>28</sup> I believe that it may be accepted as proved that the name of the fairy-queen, *Argant(e)*, in Layamon's *Brut*, II.

<sup>27</sup> References to horses clad in armor are found also in the Vulgate *Merlin* (Sommer's *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian romances*, II), p. 180, 339 (les cheuaus tous couuers de fer), 411. But this romance, except possibly the part which is a mere prose-rendering of Robert de Boron's *Merlin*, is, in my opinion, later than the *Mort Artu*, so the passages have no weight. With regard to the expression in the *Mort Artu*, p. 185, as to Lancelot's horse being armored I have since ascertained that it is found in all the MSS. of this romance in the Bibliothèque Nationale except 12,580 (supplément français, 103), which is defective at this point and 1,119 (nouvelles acquisitions), which merely says, fol. 235, that Lancelot "monte sor ung destrier fort et ismel." Besides, MS. 12,573 (supplément français, 4,836) omits, fol. 307 b., the words "iusques en longle del piet."

With regard to the relations of the *Mort Artu* and the *chansons de geste*, *Gaydon* and *Parise la Duchesse* I wish to emphasize the point which I made, p. 274, of my edition of the *M. A.*, that the incident in which a Knight dies from eating poisoned apples (intended by an enemy for Gawain) at Guinevere's table and which I supposed to be derived from one (or possibly both) of the *chansons de geste* has no connection with folklore. The examples which I cited from actual life—the number could, no doubt, be easily increased—show this. Brugger in his review, p. 207, seems to have overlooked this, for he still speaks of the *motif* as belonging to folklore.

<sup>28</sup> In the article entitled "Some Proper Names in Layamon's *Brut*, not represented in Wace or Geoffrey of Monmouth."

23,071, 28,613, who carries Arthur off to Avalon, is merely a corruption of the name of *Morgan*, or *Morgant*, as she is frequently called, the sister of Arthur and the famous fairy-queen of the Arthurian romances. Confirmatory evidence, however, is always welcome and so I wish to cite a few examples which give additional support to that view.

1. The name of the enchantress, *Urganda*, in the *Amadis de Gaula*<sup>29</sup> and other romances of the Spanish peninsular—e. g., *Tirant lo Blanch*,<sup>30</sup> where she is called Arthur's sister—is plainly a corruption of *Morgant*, the *M* having been lost in some way or other in the course of tradition.

2. In a precisely similar manner we find *Lancelot* or *Lanselot*, as the name was frequently spelt (the great hero of Arthurian romance) figuring as *Anselot* in the *Chevalier au Cygne*, l. 769 (ed. Baron de Reiffenberg, Brussels, 1846, 3 vols.; I, p. 37).

3. Notice *Vrbaduc* as a variant for *Norbaduc* in Sommer's *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, IV, 295.

4. Parallel with the loss of initial *M* in the case which we are considering is the loss of initial *R* in the list of proper names given by Barry Cerf in this journal, vol. I, p. 5, note (in his article on *Ogier le Danois*).<sup>31</sup>

## V

### ARTHUR AND THE "Wilde Jagd"

In my edition of the *Mort Artu*, p. 306, the only reference to Arthur as leader of the "Wilde Jagd" which I was able to cite was the well-known one in the *Otia Imperialia* of Gervase of Tilbury, *Secunda Decisio*, cap. 12. Gervase there mentions that Arthur was reported to have so appeared "in sylvis Britanniae majoris aut minoris." I have since noted the following additional references.

<sup>29</sup> See, for example, Robert Southey's translation (3 vols., London, 1872), I, 18 et passim.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. the analysis of this romance in J. C. Dunlop's *History of Prose Fiction* (new ed. in 2 vols., London, 1896), I, 401.

<sup>31</sup> Readers of Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* will recall the pagan warrior, *Argante*, so prominent in that poem. There is no historical connection, even of a remote nature, however, so far as I know, between the name in Tasso and Layamon, respectively.

1. *Didot-Perceval*, p. iii of Miss J. L. Weston's edition in her *Legend of Sir Perceval*, vol. II (London, 1909),<sup>32</sup> where we have (near the end of the romance) the following sentence concerning Arthur after his translation to Avalon: "Mais tant saciés vous que li auquant l'ont puis veü es forès cacier et ont oi ses chiens avuec lui, et li auquant i ont eu esperance lonc tans qu'il revenist.

2. *Complaynt of Scotland*<sup>33</sup> (sixteenth century), p. 63 in the edition of J. A. H. Murray, Early English Text Society, Extra Series, No. 17 (1872). Here in the Monologue Recreative of the *Complaynt* we have among the list of tales to be told for recreation "the seige of Millan, gauen and gollogras, lancelot du lac, Arthour Knycht he raid on nycht vitht gyltin spur and candil lycht, the tail of floremond of albanye that sleu the dragon be the see," etc. The Arthur item was no doubt a "Wilde Jagd" ballad.

3. *Letters of the Wordsworth Family*, II, 209 f., collected and edited by William Knight (3 vols., Boston and London, 1907). Writing to Allan Cunningham, November 23 [1823], the poet Wordsworth says: "Do not say I ought to have been a Scotchman. Tear me not from the country of Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare and Milton; yet I own that since the days of childhood, when I became familiar with the phrase 'They are killing geese in Scotland, and sending the feathers to England' (which every one had ready when the snow began to fall) and when I used to hear in the time of a high wind, that

Arthur's bower has broken his band,  
And he comes roaring up the land;  
King o' Scots wi' a' his power  
Cannot turn Arthur's bower,

I have been indebted to the North for more than I shall ever be able to acknowledge."

To be sure, Arthur's leadership of the "Wilde Jagd" has little importance, inasmuch as the examples given by E. H. Meyer in his

<sup>32</sup> I had made a note of this before the appearance of the review by Miss Weston in *Romania*, XL (1911), where, p. 137, note, she calls attention to it. The passage is in the Didot as well as the Modena MS. See Hucher, *Saint Graal*, I, 502.

<sup>33</sup> In his edition of the *Historia* of Geoffrey of Monmouth, p. 428, San Marte mentions the reference. This first led me to look up the passage.

*Germanische Mythologie*, pp. 236 ff. (Berlin, 1891), show that he has shared this honor with many other legendary and historical characters.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>34</sup> In his *Handbuch der deutschen Mythologie*, p. 198 (Bonn, 1887) Karl Simrock remarks: "Doch ist zu beachten dass König Artus in Frankreich und Schottland als nächtlicher Jäger erscheint, der auch bei uns nach dem Wartburgkriege im hohlen Berge sass, und von dem die Britten die Wiederkehr einer bessern Zeit und der alten Herrlichkeit ihres Volkes erwarteten." Not being near any great collection of Scotch or French popular literature at the time of writing I can't say whether what Simrock here says of Arthur as the Wild Huntsman is supported by anything in works of that class. There is nothing on the subject in F. J. Child's great collection of *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*. Simrock may have known of the passage in the *Complaynt of Scotland* from San Marte's note, mentioned above. On this and Gervase of Tilbury, he may have based the statement just quoted.

J. D. BRUCE.

UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE.

## THE ITALIAN ORIGIN OF THE SPANISH PROSE TRISTRAM VERSIONS

IN the introduction to his edition of the *Tristano Riccardiano*, Parodi proved that that work and a large portion of the *Tavola Ritonda* were closely related and that both of these Old Italian versions, as well as many other allied MSS., contain traits which are *sui generis* and not to be found in any of the known French MSS.<sup>1</sup> In the present article, I desire to show that the group of MSS. containing these peculiarities is much larger than Parodi supposed and includes Spanish as well as Italian versions. The Spanish redactions have never before been compared with the Italian. Of these, the Vatican Tristram MS. is still inedited. Baist, who some years ago had an opportunity to read it, discovered that it differed materially from the French romance but he did not continue his observations further.<sup>2</sup> The romance of chivalry entitled *El libro del muy esforzado caballero Don Tristan de Leonis y de sus grandes hechos de armas*, a work of extreme rarity, was generally inaccessible until its recent republication by Bonilla y San Martín.<sup>3</sup> Neither Spanish version was, therefore, available to Parodi.

In the following pages, I shall endeavor to show three things: (1) That the leading Italian and Spanish versions of the Prose Tristram form one group of intimately related MSS., so closely agreeing among themselves in opposition to the French as to force the conclusion that they spring from a common source which was characterized by marked peculiarities. (2) That of the various members of this group, the Italian stand in closer relation to the French than do the Spanish. (3) That the Spanish versions contain evidence of immediate Italian origin. In a subsequent study

<sup>1</sup> *Il Tristano Riccardiano* (ed. Parodi, *Collezione di opere inedite o rare*, Bologna, 1896). Monaci has also printed a brief portion of the MS. in his *Crestomazia*.

<sup>2</sup> Baist, *Die spanische Litteratur* (Gröbers Grundriss), III, 5, p. 438.

<sup>3</sup> *Libros de Caballerías, primera parte* (ed. Bonilla y San Martín, *Nueva bib. de aut. esp.*, vol. VI, Madrid, 1907). It is a pity that Bonilla did not reproduce the *editio princeps*, of which there is a copy in the British Museum.

I shall endeavor to group the Spanish versions, discussing the question as to whether the two main redactions derive from a common Spanish source or are independent translations from the Italian.

As it will be necessary to refer to many MSS. and editions, it is well briefly to list them. Foremost among the Italian is the aforementioned *Tristano Riccardiano* (designated R). Next in importance is the huge compilation known as the *Tavola Ritonda* (S).<sup>4</sup> Italian MSS. closely related to the *Riccardiano* are: *Riccardiano* 1,729 (F);<sup>5</sup> *Panciatichiano* 33 (P);<sup>6</sup> *Palatino* E. 5. 4. 47 (L).<sup>7</sup> I have directly consulted none of these MSS., but Parodi's careful descriptions of them, the numerous extracts which he has printed, and the variant readings which he has drawn from them frequently permit them to be utilized. Polidori's edition of the *Tavola Ritonda* is based upon the codex Mediceo-Laurenziano (27 del Pluteo XLIV). I have taken into consideration variants from two other MSS., the Magliabechiana No. 68, and the Codice della comunale di Siena, I, VII, 13. A few Italian versions which are either so fragmentary as to be of slight help in this investigation or entirely unrelated to the group under discussion have been used little or not at all.<sup>8</sup>

The oldest Spanish version is that which I shall call *El cuento de Tristan* (V), No. 6,428 of the Vatican library.<sup>9</sup> The Bonilla

<sup>4</sup> *La Tavola Ritonda* (ed. Polidori, *Col. di op. inedite o rare*, Bologna, 1864).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Parodi, *op. cit.*, pp. xi-xix.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xix-xxxvi.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xxvi-lit.

<sup>8</sup> *Il Tristano di Vienna*, *ibid.*, pp. cxvii-cxxvi; *Il Tristano Corsino*, *ibid.*, pp. ccxxvi-viii; *Libro de battaglie de Tristano* (Cremona, 1492), cf. Polidori, *op. cit.*, p. xxi; *Morte di Tristano e della Reina Isota, descritta per Ventura de Ceratis* (Lacombe, 1854); *I cantari di Carduino, giuntovi quello di Tristano e Lancielotto quando combattettero al Petro di Merlino* (ed. Rajna, *Scelta di Curiosita*, Bologna, 1873); Nicolò Agostini, *Il secondo e terzo libro di Tristano* (Venezia, 1520).

<sup>9</sup> The title is taken from the text, which refers to itself indifferently as *El cuento* or *La historia*. The Vatican fragment is briefly referred to by Baist, *loc. cit.*; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la novela* (Madrid, 1905), p. clxxxii; Bonilla y San Martín, *Anales de la literatura española* (Madrid, 1904), p. 26. It was first made known by Monaci (*Fac simile* 6). While a fragment, it is a fragment of great length and embraces nearly all of the more interesting portion of the romance. Baist's statement that it represents only about one fifth of the romance is misleading. The statement is true if we compare it to the late, greatly amplified French versions; but the earlier version which it represents was much shorter.



Fragment (BF) is of little avail for the present study as it embraces a portion of the story not found in either V or R. As Bonilla has shown, it is closely connected with the romance of chivalry and is probably a direct ancestor of the same.<sup>10</sup> This last named work (TL), whose full title has already been given, went through two, and perhaps three, editions. The first of these is that of Valladolid, 1501. A second appeared in Sevilla, 1528, and it is this edition which I have consulted in Bonilla's reprint and which I designate as TL. A third is alleged to have been printed in Sevilla, 1533, but Grässe is probably right in regarding this as a bibliographical myth.<sup>11</sup> Next in order came a complete rehandling of TL, to which was added an entirely original second part which is unrelated to any other known Tristram romance: *Coronica nuevamente emendada y añadida del buen cauallero Don Tristan de Leonis y del rey Don Tristan de Leonis, el joven, su fijo* (Sevilla, 1534).<sup>12</sup> This last has been inaccessible to me but has not seemed important for the purposes of the present study, inasmuch as it is later, less reliable, and a direct descendant of TL. Curiously enough, this work was translated into the Italian under the title: *Due libri delle opere magnamine dei due Tristani* (Venezia, 1555, 2 vols.).<sup>13</sup> This, too, I have not yet handled. I believe it to be a translation back into the Italian of what was originally, so far as the first volume is concerned, an Italian work. Grässe mentions an Aragonese Tristram of the year 1438, but a careful investigation of his references has revealed the fact that the Tristram MS. in question is no other than the lost Portuguese version, once in the library of King Duarte. The Aragonese version is therefore a bibliographical "ghost."<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Bonilla, *Anales*, pp. 25-28.

<sup>11</sup> Grässe's reason for so thinking is that it seems remarkable that the two editions should have been printed on the same day, Nov. 4, and by the same publisher as well. No copies of 1533 are known to exist. Somebody has written an X for a V in copying the title of the 1528 edition. Grässe is wrong in questioning the existence of the 1501 edition. The British Museum possesses a copy.

<sup>12</sup> For descriptions of these editions, cf. the bibliography of Pascual de Gayangos, *Libros de Caballerias* (*Bib. de aut. esp.*, Madrid, 1857), pp. lxxiii f.

<sup>13</sup> Described by Löseth, *Analyse du roman de Tristan* (*Bib. de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes*, Paris, 1890), pp. iv, xxiii, 477.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Grässe, *Trésor*, vol. VI, p. 202.

As none of the French MSS. has been printed *in extenso*, I have been forced to rely mainly upon Löseth's exhaustive analyses.<sup>15</sup> In addition, I have used those portions of Malory's *Morte Darthur* which have been drawn from the French Prose Tristram. I have, besides, used those portions of MS. 103 which Bédier has published in his edition of Thomas.<sup>16</sup>

The first step in my argument is to show that the Italian and Spanish versions agree in many peculiarities not known to the French. For the sake of convenience in conducting a most complicated problem, I compare the four best and most authoritative texts, R, S (Italian), and V, TL (Spanish), using incidentally the related MSS. whenever I have been able to control them and they throw light upon the subject. When I neglect to cite P, F, L, etc., it must not be supposed that they are in opposition. The version V lacks the first five folios, the story beginning with the hero's flight from Leonis (Löseth 24). Inasmuch as V agrees very closely in content with TL and beyond a doubt descends from some common ancestor, it is highly probable that the beginning of V was very like the beginning of TL. Nevertheless, it must be understood that V does not enter into comparison until the point indicated. The Italian versions R and S may be compared with the Spanish V and TL up to the end of Tristram's adventures in the forest of Darnantes (Lös. 75a). There R abruptly ends, and the compiler of S turns to Thomas and other sources. V coincides with TL up to the point where it ends, describing the visit of Arthur and Launcelot to Tristram and Iseult during the tourney of Louverzep.

<sup>15</sup> Löseth, *op. cit.* Also Löseth, *Le Tristan et la Palamède des manuscrits français du British Museum* (Christiania, 1905).

<sup>16</sup> Thomas, *Le roman de Tristan* (ed. Bédier, Paris, 1905), vol. II, pp. 321-395. I have not had occasion to consult Bédier, *La mort de Tristan et d'Iseut, Rom.*, vol. XV, pp. 496-510. Estlander, *Pièces inédites du roman de Tristan* (Helsingfors, 1866), is inaccessible to me. It is reviewed by Gaston Paris, *Rev. Crit.*, 1867, vol. I, p. 127.

TRAITS WHICH THE VERSIONS R, S, V AND TL HAVE IN COMMON,  
IN OPPOSITION TO THOSE ANALYZED BY LÖSETH

1. All the versions begin differently from the French. R, P, TL begin in precisely the same manner, omitting Lös. 1-18, which recount Tristram's ancestry. They all begin with Lös. 19, as does also Malory. The compiler of S, who has an introduction all his own, here borrows from other sources. He omits Lös. 1-17, but one chapter seems reminiscent of Lös. 18. The *Tristano di Vienna* begins also with Lös. 18.

2. Lös. 19. Meliadux and Mark are brothers in R, S, TL. In the French and Malory, Meliadux marries Mark's sister. The latter in our texts is simply a noble lady. The Italian versions and one Spanish agree in an error.

3. R, S, TL agree in taking up the events narrated in Lös. 21 previous to those in 20. They thus agree in an erroneous, or, at all events, an unusual order.

4. Lös. 20. Instead of the fountain of Brahaigne, we have the Fountain of the Lion in R, S, L, TL. Throughout our versions there is a tendency to avoid or simplify place names. The Vienna alone has Breuchaina, but the relationship of this MS. is remote.

5. Lös. 22. No mention of the fact that Meliadux's second wife was daughter of Hoel, King of Little Britain, either here or later in the romance. On the contrary, in S she is Agai, daughter of King Bramo, brother of Duke Bramante. Her son is Allegreno. The compiler of S usually invents names when these are lacking in his source.

6. Lös. 22. R, S, TL disagree with Löseth in stating the order of the queen's two attempts to poison Tristram. First comes the attempt when Meliadux's own life was in danger. This is followed by the queen's confession and her pardon as a result of Tristram's intercession. Later comes the attempt which results in the poisoning of the queen's own son. The French order, which Malory confirms, is the more logical and undoubtedly the original. Again, the texts agree in a disarrangement of the proper order.

7. Lös. 23. The murder of Meliadux is not ascribed to the Count of Norhout nor to Mark. It is insufficiently motivated in R, S, TL.

At this point V enters into comparison.

8. Lös. 27. No mention of the Castle of Glevedom. On the contrary, all four versions substitute Tintagel. Belide's squire, Hebés le renommé, is not named; neither is there allusion to his subsequent fate.

9. Lös. 28. Instead of the Isle de Saint Sanson (so also in Chrestien's *Erec*), the place where Tristram and Morhout fight their duel is the Isola senza Aventura (R, S); Isla sin Ventura (V, TL). The perfect agreement of these versions in such a striking error is one of the strongest indications of close relationship.<sup>17</sup>

10. Lös. 28. Morhout treacherously wounds Tristram with a poisoned arrow after the latter had courteously assisted him, mortally wounded, to his boat. R, S, V, TL. A notable perversion of the legend.

11. Lös. 29. Instead of being cast adrift alone, Tristram is accompanied by Gouvernal and a sailor (R, V, TL). S mentions a whole crew. This peculiarity was not limited to our group, for in Malory, Gouvernal puts to sea with Tristram. No mention of the castle of Hossedoc except in the distantly related Vienna MS.

12. Lös. 29. No mention of the arrival of Gaheriet, Keu, and Bagdemagus at Anguish's court.

13. Lös. 31. Brangain's brothers are not named. No mention of the finding of Palamedes's arms by Gauvain.

14. Lös. 34. In the French, Tristram's first love is la femme de Segurades. In Malory: an earl's wife that hight Segwarides. He is to meet her at la Fontaine du Pin. (In the Modena MS.: al eiue de l'espine.) In our versions, the following forms appear: damigiella dela fonte dell' Agua dela Spina (R); damigella del Lago della Spina (P); donzella ebreá (sic) dell' Aigua della Spina (S);<sup>18</sup> Dueña del Quarto Blanco (sic) del Espina (V); Dueña del Lago del Espina (TL). Notice the close agreement between TL and P. Although the MSS. disagree in their readings, they all perpetuate the same error, though in different form.

15. Lös. 34. Instead of the character Segurades, we have consistently Lambègue: Lambegue, Lambegues, Lanbeguis (R); Lam-

<sup>17</sup> Parodi, *op. cit.*, p. lxviii, supposes a change in the French from Sanson to Sansor. Of course, such confusions between a superscribed letter and a tilde are very common. This form, he supposes, was then taken to stand for *sons* our and translated accordingly. A very plausible explanation.

<sup>18</sup> For other S variants, cf. Polidori, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

bergus (S); Lanbrosyn (V); Lambagues (TL). TL has also the form Lanbrojesin, but erroneously bestows it upon another character, Supinable, who is not named in the related versions.<sup>19</sup>

16. Lōs. 34. The London knights Sagremor and Dodinel are not named.

17. Lōs. 43. In the French, the knight who attempts to rescue Iseult from Palamedes is Lambègue. We have seen above that it is a peculiarity of our versions to substitute the name Lambegue for Segurades. So likewise the latter's name was bestowed upon the former: Sigris, Segris (R); Sagris (S); Segris, Sagris (V); Sagramor (TL). In TL we have an additional confusion in the erroneous identification of Segurades with Sagremor. Aside from this, the interchange of the two characters is consistently carried out in the four versions. Naturally none of the versions contains the long account which the French MSS. here give of Lambègue and his adventures.

18. Lōs. 45 ff. The events which have to do with the loves of Tristram and Iseult are taken up in different order in the various texts. The French order is as follows:

(a) First suspicions. Tristram, denounced by Andret, strikes Mark with the flat of his sword after the latter's attempt to kill him.

(b) Flight into the forest. Tristram kills a knight and forces his brother to deliver to Mark a threatening message. First reconciliation.

(c) The combat with Lamorat.

(d) The enchanted horn.

(e) The scythes.

(f) The queen's apartments forbidden.

(g) Basille.

(h) Tristram ambushed. The escape.

(i) Iseult imprisoned in a tower.

(j) Tristram visits her disguised as a woman.

(k) The lovers captured and sentenced.

(l) The leap from the chapel.

(m) Iseult delivered from the lepers.

Malory agrees perfectly with Lōseth as to order except that *e*, *f*, *g*, *h*, *i*, *j* are omitted. The order of R: *g*, *e*, *c*, *d*, *f*, *ha* (com-

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Parodi, *op. cit.*, p. cxii for a suggested explanation.

bined), *bh* (repeated in part), *i, j, k, l, m*. S has precisely this order except that little is made of *b* and the partial repetition of *h* is avoided. V and TL agree perfectly as to order and the omissions: *c, d, g, e, ha, b, k, m, l*. Thus, while there is some disagreement between Spanish and Italian, nevertheless all four versions agree in opposition to the French in the late introduction of *a* and *b* and in the combining of the incidents of the ambush and the striking of Mark (*ha*) into one adventure.

19. L $\ddot{o}$ s. 52. Gouvenal meets Brangain and conducts her to the house of the Wise Damsel.

20. L $\ddot{o}$ s. 52. Tristram dreams that he is wounded by a stag. Iseult comforts him.

21. L $\ddot{o}$ s. 54. Tristram and Gouvenal go to Tintagel, not Norhout. The damsel they meet is not said to be related to Brangain. The name of the castle she comes from is in L $\ddot{o}$ seth the Ch $\acute{a}$ teau du Pas. Cornassan, Cornesen (R); Cornasin, Tornasin (S); Tarasin (V); Cornezino (TL).

22. L $\ddot{o}$ s. 55. Hoel's nephew, instead of Conte Agrippe le Grand, is called the Count of Egypt: Agippi, Agippia, Egippi, Igippi (R); Gippia, Gippe (S); Egite, Agite (V); Egypta (TL). These forms are always used as the name of a town rather than that of a person. S calls him Albroino. The agreement of the versions in this error, which I agree with Parodi in thinking the result of a translator's error, is another of the strong proofs of close relationship.

23. L $\ddot{o}$ s. 55. No mention of Tristram's encounter with Alquin.

24. L $\ddot{o}$ s. 57. Lamb $\acute{e}$ gue conveys to Mark's court the news of Tristram's marriage to Iseult of the White Hands. This is probably a primitive trait which the texts analyzed by L $\ddot{o}$ seth do not contain. No mention of the correspondence between Iseult and Guinevere.

25. From L $\ddot{o}$ s. 57 our four versions jump to L $\ddot{o}$ s. 71a, omitting the episodes of the Servage, the adventures of the Valet *à la cotte mal taillée*, etc. Malory contains these episodes, which cannot have belonged to the primitive romance.

26. L $\ddot{o}$ s. 71a. In the French, Tristram tests Lamorat's courage, and, finding him brave, spares his life. In our versions, Tristram desists because he is convinced that his own conduct is discourteous and unknightly.

This list is not complete but sufficient for the purpose. Many other agreements in matters of small importance might be noted. Furthermore, there are numerous instances where three of the four agree in opposition to the French, the disagreement in the fourth text (usually S or TL) being due to some arbitrary change or else explainable on the theory of some cross influence. The compiler of S drew from many sources. Thus combinations like R, V, TL . . . S and R, S, V, . . . TL occur. If the more modern and arbitrary texts S and TL were disregarded and the more faithful versions R and V alone compared, their list of agreements against the French would be much longer than that given above. But as I am not at present working out a complete study of the relationship of the MSS., but merely trying to show Italian origin for the Spanish versions, this evidence, although most of it would be confirmatory, seems neither necessary nor pertinent here.

The above comparisons show first of all that R, S, V, and TL agree very closely in their subject matter. None of them has the introduction of the French romance. I attach but slight importance to this fact, because the Malory Tristram begins like R, P, TL. This may well indicate that paragraphs 1-18 of Löseth did not belong to the primitive version of the Prose Tristram. The omission of the Servage and the adventures of the Valet à la cotte mal taillée, although included in Malory, points to a similar conclusion. If we attempt to reconstruct the primitive Prose Tristram, we should be especially suspicious of all episodes wherein the hero of the romance does not figure. The two episodes mentioned are certainly extraneous. They break the thread of the story, are at variance with the rest of the plot, and have little to do with Tristram. The fact that our four versions omit these episodes proves little but that they are all truer in this respect to the primitive version than are those fuller redactions which Löseth has analyzed. The episode of the adventures in the Forest of Darnantes which all our versions have and most of the French MSS. omit, I do not consider extraneous, for it continues and completes an interrupted adventure with Lamorat.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> In R, when Lamorat (Amoratto) leaves Cornwall after his duel with Tristram, it is stated that he is on his way to the *fontana avventurosa* in the Forest of Darnantes (Irlantes, p. 153 of Parodi). This points forward to an adventure in the Forest of Darnantes which comes much later in the romance. The



Now, if we imagine two French MSS., each close to the primitive redaction, the one crossing the Alps, the other the Pyrenees, translations of those MSS. into Italian and Spanish would be closely related and show many points of similarity as against Löseth's more modern redactions. Some of the resemblances between the Italian and the Spanish might thus be explained on the theory that R, S, etc., derive from one Old French text, and V and TL from a distinct but closely related one. But such a hypothesis would not explain other peculiarities which I have noted. R, S, V, TL agree not alone when they seem more nearly to approach the primitive form of the romance, but also when they are obviously in error and less faithful to tradition than Löseth's MSS. They agree in disarrangements of the proper order (3, 6, 18); in a curious interchange of leading characters (15, 17); in erroneous interpretations of proper names (4, 9, 14, 22); in stupid perversions of the legend (2, 7, 10), and in other respects besides.

My table of comparisons should be studied in connection with Parodi's.<sup>21</sup> Parodi discusses 14 traits which he regards as especially peculiar to R, and shows that S has many of them likewise. Of these 14 traits, all but three are shared by V and TL. The first of these three (No. 6 of Parodi) is the incident of the lap-dog licking up the spilled drops of the love philtre. Both Spanish versions lack this trait, but this is simply a peculiarity within the group. P, which of all the Italian MSS. I consider one of the very nearest to V and TL, likewise shows this omission. The same is true with respect to No. 14 where the Knight of the Barking Beast is said to be Prezzivalle (Perceval) instead of Palamedes as in Löseth and Malory. The knight is not named in the Spanish. (In the *Baladro del Sabio Merlin* Perseval is said to be son of this knight. This, too, is a departure from the legend.) The third case (No. 8) has to do with the substitution in R of the name Ghedis, Ghedin (the Godoine of Beroul) for the Andret of the French romances. The name Andret nowhere occurs in R, and Parodi states that this peculiarity is not shared by S. Now, while true that in S the character in interrupted quarrel between Tristram and Lamorat is there resumed. In those versions which contain the episode of the Servage, Tristram meets Lamorat as though nothing had happened. It is plain our versions are nearer the primitive form of the romance than most of those analyzed by Löseth. I cannot agree with the objections which Löseth raises on this point, *Mss. du Brit. Mus.*, p. 34.

<sup>21</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. lxx ff.

question is almost invariably called Adrette, Adriette, nevertheless when first introduced in one of the MSS. (Cod. Palat. E, 5, 5, 4) he is named Andrette Ghidon. To this very slight extent S shares the peculiarity with R. Now, it is startling to note that V is here in complete accord with R. The character is called Gudino, Godino. TL, on the other hand, agrees more nearly with S in that the name is usually Aldaret. But, strangely enough, when first introduced the character is named Echides, a form which I am tempted to connect with Chedis, Chidis, Italian variants of Ghedis. While the agreement of the four versions did not in this case seem to me perfect enough to warrant including the trait in my list, yet I feel that the inconsistencies in the four versions are here very slight.

Therefore, it is evident that nearly all the special peculiarities which Parodi cited to prove common origin between R and S and many other traits besides may be used to prove the same for V and TL. I accept Parodi's conclusions but supplement them. The agreement of R, S, V, TL is so close as to preclude any theory of relationship save that of a near common origin. They fall into a single family of closely related members.

Having shown that R, S, V, TL belong to a single family, it follows as a corollary that those portions of MSS. P, F, and L which Parodi has shown to be related to R also have a place in the family. Some of these are compilations, and I of course exclude those portions which Parodi has shown go back to the Launcelot romance or some other distinct source. In addition, *Il Tristano di Vienna* has some points of relationship, as Parodi has shown, and probably more than he realized; for TL, which I believe fills in the missing portion of R, as it does for V, like the Vienna Tristram, draws largely from Rusticien de Pise toward the end. So far as I am able to determine, *Il Tristano Corsini* deserves no place in the group. It appears to follow more closely the common Old French version. But there is no chance to make comparisons with R or the corresponding portion of S, and the disagreement with the latter portion of the Spanish versions is obvious. It goes without saying that all the MSS. of the *Tavola Ritonda* and the numerous descendants of TL belong in the group. So does BF, which Bornilla has shown to be the same version as TL.

THE ITALIAN VERSIONS STAND IN CLOSER AND MORE IMMEDIATE  
RELATION TO THE FRENCH THAN DO THE SPANISH

Now that it has been shown that the versions R, S, V, TL, etc., form a single related group, it is pertinent to inquire which of these stand in closer relationship to the French. Knowing as we do that the Arthurian romances became popular in Italy earlier than in Spain,<sup>22</sup> there is an *a priori* probability that in this case the current of literary influence has been from Italy to Spain rather than the contrary. The result of my investigation will prove, I think, that the Italian members of the group are more faithful than the Spanish and that the latter derive from the Italian.

The most obvious indication that the Italian versions are nearer the French is that they contain many French words and phrases. In two instances in R and S, letters begin with the words: *Amis*, *amis Tristan*. In all other cases, the common Italian form *amico* is used. Brehus sans Pitié is in R: Brius sens pitié (garbled in the original to senpiçie); Breus syn Piedat (V); Brines sin Piedat (TL). Lancialotto di Lacca (Laca) appears in R alternating with Lago. R has also Pitetta Brettagna, corresponding to Pequeña Breña in the Spanish. Words and phrases like *distriere*, *varvasore*, *fiore dilis*, etc., abound, but instead of multiplying examples, I refer the reader to Parodi's glossary and Polidori's Spoglio Lessicografico, where many other Gallicisms are to be found. In the Spanish, I have discovered nothing similar. Where the Italian shows a Gallicism, the Spanish either has a good Castilian equivalent or else the word is misunderstood and garbled. Thus the French *beste glatissant* appears in R in untranslated form: *bestia grattisante* (*Gratta santa* in P). This becomes *Bestia Grata Sangre* in V and *Gaturas* in TL. The Spanish texts appear throughout one remove farther away from the French than the Italian. The MS. R is also older than any of the existing Spanish versions. It dates from the end of the thirteenth century. I attach slight importance to the fact that the writing is French, because a study of the MSS. will show that R is not the original Italian translation but had an Italian ancestor or ancestors. As might be supposed, there are no Hispanisms in the Italian.

<sup>22</sup> Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes*, p. clxix.

From the above, I conclude that the original Italian version was translated out of the Old French of the *langue d'oïl*. Neither Parodi nor Polidori thought otherwise. I have considered the possibility of a Provençal original for the Italian versions, inasmuch as Chabaneau has indicated the probable existence of such a MS.<sup>23</sup> But while it may be hazardous to venture a conclusion on the basis of a few forms, these seem northern rather than southern French. The Arthurian romances known to Dante were in the *langue d'oïl*.<sup>24</sup> The northern French versions seem to have been the better known in Italy.

I next propose to show that as regards content the Italian versions are for the most part more faithful to the original than are the Spanish. After a list of such instances, I shall give another showing that in a much smaller number of cases the Spanish redactions preserve the original more exactly. This, I believe, does not involve a contradiction. Neither V nor TL can be directly descended from R, S, or any of the other surviving Italian MSS. The cases I shall cite will, I am confident, show that the Spanish versions derive from a MS. closely related to R, P, and S and which in some respects has preserved the correct tradition more accurately than have those Italian MSS. which chance has preserved. We are comparing a limited number of surviving MSS. where probably hundreds once existed.

#### INSTANCES WHERE ITALIAN VERSIONS HAVE REMAINED MORE FAITHFUL TO THE ORIGINAL THAN HAVE THE SPANISH

1. Lös. 20. R alone tells how Gouvernal was forced to quit Gaul for having murdered his brother.
2. Lös. 24. R, S agree with the French in making Belide send her love message to Tristram before the coming of Morhout. The Spanish first relate the latter episode.
3. Lös. 29. R and S tell of the meeting of Gauwain and Hebés, and explain why Palamedes carried two swords. The Spanish omit.

<sup>23</sup> Chabaneau, *Notes sur quelques MSS. provençaux perdus ou égarés* (Extrait de la Rev. des Langues romanes, Paris, 1885), p. 621; the same, *Les biographies des Troubadours* (Toulouse, 1885), p. 202.

<sup>24</sup> Dante, *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, Bk. I, chap. X.

4. L<sup>ös</sup>. 29. In the Spanish, the King of Scotland and the King of the 100 Knights fight on the same side during the tournament. R and S agree with the French in making them opponents.

5. L<sup>ös</sup>. 31. R like the French tells how Palamedes abandons his arms when defeated. The Spanish omit.

6. L<sup>ös</sup>. 33. In R, S, and the French, the Queen of Ireland's servant discovers the notch in Tristram's sword. In the Spanish, the discovery is made by the queen in person. The Italian also agree with the French in making Tristram take with him Brangain's brothers, on leaving Ireland. Malory agrees with the Spanish in these particulars but these are changes which an abbreviator would naturally make.

7. L<sup>ös</sup>. 34. R, like the French, motivates the coming of the damsel who upbraids Tristram. V and TL do not.

8. L<sup>ös</sup>. 35. R alone preserves the incident of Mark causing Tristram to rehearse his exploits before the court.

9. L<sup>ös</sup>. 36. S alone agrees with the French in stating that after the tempest Tristram landed at Camelot. The other versions say Londres.

10. L<sup>ös</sup>. 37. The Italian explain with reference to the severed shield that it is being sent to Launcelot and Guinevere. The Spanish omit this important detail.

11. L<sup>ös</sup>. 38. S agrees more closely with the French in the account of Iseult's betrothal and departure from Ireland. The other versions omit Anguish's dream. In both R and S, as in the French, the philtre is entrusted to both Brangain and Gouvernal. In V and TL, it is given to Brangain alone.

12. L<sup>ös</sup>. 41. S closer to the French in preserving the name Dalis corresponding to Délice. R, V, TL lack this.

13. L<sup>ös</sup>. 41. R agrees with French in saying that Galehout journeyed to the Giants' Isle accompanied by two knights. The Spanish mention but one.

14. L<sup>ös</sup>. 43. R agrees with French in making Tristram yield to Mark's entreaty that he wait a day before pursuing Palamedes. In V and TL, he refuses and departs immediately.

15. Consult (18) in the preceding table, where it will appear that V and TL agree in the omission of important episodes which the Italian and the French both have.

16. Lös. 47. The Italian, like the French, explain more fully the enchanted horn.

17. Lös. 46. V and TL agree in making Tristram escape alone. In the Italian and the French, he is accompanied by four knights who are variously named.

18. Lös. 46. The Italian versions agree with the French in making Tristram decapitate a knight. In the Spanish, he pierces the knight with a spear. In R, as in the French, Ghedin (Andret) urges Tristram's pardon. In V, Segris (TL Sagramor) performs this office. In these texts, the latter also serves as ambassador, whereas in R, as in the French, Brangain performs this duty.

19. Lös. 51. The Spanish versions agree against the Italian and the French in relating the deliverance of Iseult from the lepers before the leap from the chapel.

20. Lös. 51. R is closer to the French in that Iseult is first sentenced to be burnt and is later delivered to the lepers at the request of the citizens of Cornwall. In S, V, and TL, she is sentenced to be delivered to the lepers, and there is no mention of interference on the part of Mark's subjects.

21. Lös. 51. In V, Iseult is placed in a church for sanctuary. The account in the other versions is nearer the French, but TL is abridged at this point.

22. Lös. 51. The Spanish versions alone contain the incident of Tristram sending a knight to Mark for the purpose of demanding his horse and armor. But cf. Lös. 52, where Gouvernal is sent on a similar errand, an incident which R reproduces and in the proper place.

23. The Spanish versions agree in introducing the episode of Tristram's wound before that of the abduction of Iseult by Mark. That is, the first part of Lös. 54 is introduced before Lös. 53. The Italian preserve the French order. Furthermore, the Italian agree with the French in not naming the *valet* who inflicts the wound: El Buen Arquero (V); El Donzel Arquero (TL).

24. Lös. 53. The meeting of Mark with the shepherds is much more condensed in the Spanish. Only one shepherd is mentioned instead of several as in the French and Italian.

25. Lös. 55. The Spanish versions contain a pretty incident

which I find in neither the French nor Italian. Gouveral, contrary to his usual custom, urges Tristram to do battle in behalf of Hoel.

26. L<sup>ös</sup>. 71a. In the French and Italian, the knights take rest in the house of a forester; in the Spanish, in a monastery.

27. L<sup>ös</sup>. 72a. Lamorat's meetings with Arthur and Launcelot occur in R alone. Omitted in S, V, TL.

28. L<sup>ös</sup>. 72a. In the Spanish, Meleaguant is stated to be the son of Plamor (V); Piolonor (TL). These forms are probably corruptions of Pelinor. The Italian agree with the French in giving the correct name, Ban de Magus.

29. L<sup>ös</sup>. 73a. The Spanish have two incidents, found neither in the French nor in the Italian. First, Tristram meets a knight Varis (V), Briseus (TL) who carries the news of Tristram's identity back to the forester and the defeated knights. The Italian versions agree closely with the French in causing some of the defeated knights to seek Tristram out, apologize, and thus learn his name. This disagreement may not be so serious as at first appears; for later in the V MS., one scribe writes Varis where another writes Bors in the same place. Now, Bors (Bohort) was in V one of the defeated knights in question. The second incident is a duel in which Tristram overthrows Meliagans (V); Garacon, brother of Palamedes (TL).

30. L<sup>ös</sup>. 74a. The Italian versions explain more fully how Arthur came to be in peril. S is the fullest but often arbitrary and less reliable than R. The Italian also agree with the French in stating that the damsel who met Tristram had been sent by the Lady of the Lake.

31. L<sup>ös</sup>. 74a. The Italian agree with the French in making Tristram meet and unseat Hector des Marès. In the Spanish, he meets, without fighting, a large number of knights, including Estor in V but not in TL.

32. Lastly, a very large number of the Italian proper names are closer to the French forms than are the Spanish equivalents. For the sake of convenience, I study the proper names separately below.

It will be noticed that while the two Spanish versions are almost invariably in accord, the two principal Italian texts are more disposed to differ. Of the two, R is usually, but not always, the more faithful. When the Spanish shows an omission, one or the other of



the Italian group is apt to show the same omission; and, in the few following instances where V, TL, or both are closer to the original French than some one of the Italian group, a precedent for the peculiarity is sometimes afforded by another Italian version. This lends support to my opinion that V and TL derived from an Italian version or versions which sometimes preserved the tradition more faithfully than R or S.

INSTANCES WHERE V, TL, OR BOTH ARE NEARER THE FRENCH  
THAN THE ITALIAN VERSIONS OR SOME ONE OF THEM

1. Lös. 29. V agrees with the French in making a *dueña* advise Tristram to put to sea in a boat. R and S lack this trait but P has it. TL is *sui generis* in mentioning a *juglar*.

2. Lös. 28. R omits mention of Morhout's death and the finding of the fragment of Tristram's sword in his cranium. A serious omission. S, V, TL supply the trait.

3. Lös. 29. R makes no mention of the demand made upon Iseult's mother that she give medical aid to Tristram and her refusal. S, V, TL supply the incident.

4. Lös. 31. In the Italian, the description of the tournament is interrupted to relate how Brangain provided Tristram with armor. The Spanish versions preserve the original order. So also R interrupts the incident of the *demoiselle d'Arthur* to tell of Tristram's home-coming. S omits. V and TL preserve the original order.

5. Lös. 34. TL alone agrees with the French in attributing to Blioberis an adventure which R, S, and V erroneously give to Blanor. This is a most important and puzzling disagreement between the Spanish versions. I suggest three possible explanations without at present deciding in favor of any one of them. First, this may show that V and TL are independent translations of different Italian originals. Second, we may suppose that the sixteenth century publisher of TL, who tells us that he has carefully emended his original, made the change from Blanor back to the correct form Blioberis by a process of editorial revision. We may here see the cross influence of some French MS. with which he was comparing his Spanish original. Third, we may suppose both V and TL to come from a single Italian original in which the change from Blio-

beris to Blanor had only partially been carried out, V generalizing in favor of one of the two forms, TL in favor of the other. Malory gives a clew to the origin of the error in the words: Blioberis, brother of Branor. In the process of abbreviation, some scribes probably chose the one name, others the other.

6. Lös. 47. The Spanish versions follow the original French order in introducing the arrival of Lamorat and the adventure of the magic horn previous to the adventure of the scythes.

7. Lös. 47. V agrees with some of the French MSS. in stating that only four ladies successfully met the test of the magic horn. The number varies considerably in the various MSS. and this agreement may be purely fortuitous.

8. Lös. 74a. The Spanish agree with the French in stating that the False Damsel was defended by her brother. R says by her cousins.

9. Lös. 75a. The Spanish agrees with the Löseth MSS. in omitting mention of a duel in which Tristram overthrows the Knight of the Barking Beast. Yet this incident must have occurred in the original romance, for Tristram was never allowed to suffer an inglorious defeat without afterwards getting his revenge. Furthermore, an allusion in V plainly points forward to something of the kind. I believe that the French and Spanish MSS. have chanced to coincide in this omission and that the Italian preserves the truer tradition.

These are the only instances I have noted where V and TL appear truer to tradition than R and S. The conclusion seems inevitable that on the whole R and S are much closer to the French than are V and TL, and even when these latter versions are more reliable than one member of the Italian group, they are often in accord with some other member of the same family. If my reasoning is sound and my proofs are sufficient, it is now apparent that the Italian and Spanish versions constitute one group, and of this group the Italian subgroup is the nearer to the Old French redactions. Therefore, it follows logically that the Spanish subgroup must in some way descend from Italian ancestry. As final proof, and to clinch the argument, I now desire to show by a comparison of the proper names that most of the Spanish forms came from the

Italian. I seek to show Italianisms for V and TL just as I have already shown Gallicisms for R and S.

In making such a comparison, several facts are to be considered. First, the changes which the names undergo in passing from one vernacular into another only in part represent the working out of phonetic laws. While each copyist is more or less concerned to make the names conform to the genius of his own language, many of the changes are purely arbitrary or are the result of paleographical confusions and scribal errors of all sorts. Popular etymology plays an important part. Wholly unrelated names which happen to be somewhat similar in form influence one another reciprocally. Second, the same name usually occurs in many variants in each of the several MSS. The version TL is perhaps the only one in which the editor has striven for consistency in spelling, but here, too, inconsistencies abound. Third, as I have been able to discover a direct Italian ancestor for neither V nor TL, the agreement in form is not so perfect as would undoubtedly be the case were the comparison made with MSS. from which the Spanish versions are directly derived. Nevertheless, I consider the correspondences in many cases so perfect as to leave no room for doubt as to direct Italian origin. Fourth, both V and TL had ancestors within the Spanish, and many Italianisms which once may have existed have perhaps been purged away. Foreign traits are most likely to lurk in proper names. Lastly, I might remark that V offers interesting evidence as to the arbitrary way in which scribes dealt with names. Nearly a quarter of V is in duplicate. Two, and in one case three, scribes have handed down double and triple copies of the same original. This portion of the text, when printed, will show how each scribe consulted his own whim. It is astonishing that the proper names have not been even more corrupted in the process of transmission. In the following table, I shall list the more interesting of the proper names, giving in alphabetical order first the French forms and then the Italian and Spanish equivalents.

#### A COMPARISON OF PROPER NAMES

1. Agrippe le grand (Lös.); Grip (Malory); Conte d'Agippi, Egippi, Igippi, Agippia (R); Conte de Gippia, Gippe (S); Conde de Egite, Agite, Egipte (V); Conde de Egypta (TL). In all four

of the latter texts, it is a place and not a personal name. S has the personal name Albroino.

2. Anguyn, Angin, Anguis, Angyns, Hanguin (Lös.); Anguish (Malory); Languis (R, S); Languisin (V); Languines (TL). Anguis occurs in the *Baladro del sabio Merlin*, and the *Amadis* agrees with TL in the form Languines. On another occasion, I shall try to show that Montalvo must have known the TL version. There is a frequent interchange of n and s final in all three languages. Cf. Ghedis, Ghedin, etc. Perhaps a form like Languisin indicates an effort to combine into one two variant forms. Notice how the Spanish forms agree with the Italian in prefixing L. The reverse may be noted in the case of the name Lamorat.

3. Belide, Bellide, Beleyde, Belinde (Lös.); Belicies (R); Belicies (R, S); Bellices (S); Balisen, Barisen (V); Belisenda (TL).

4. Ban de Benoic (Lös.); Bando di Benoicchi, Banoicchi, Benuichi (R); Bando de Benuih, Benoieh, Benuich, Benoich (S); Ban de Bemoyque (V).

5. Beste glatissant (Lös.); Bestia grattisante, grattigante, gratiscante (R); Bestia Gratta santa (P); Gratisanti, Gratisante (S); Grata Sangre (V); Gaturas (TL). Notice the remarkably close agreement between V and P. V clearly goes back to an original where gl- had changed to gr- as it had done in the Italian. The confusions arose from the Italian translator's failure to render the French participle. It is instructive to note that in the *Baladro*, which apparently came directly from the French, the name is correctly rendered: Bestia Ladradora.

6. Blioberis, Bliobleris, Blioblieris, Bliomberis (Lös.); Brobor di Caunes (R); Broberis de Gaules (F); Breobreis di Gaules (P, S); Briobris, Brioles de Gaunes, Bliobleris (V); Brioberis, Blioberis de Gaones (TL). The Spanish versions sometimes show the same initial Br- which we find in the Italian.

7. Bohort, Bors de Gaunes (Lös.); Boordo (R); Bordo di Gaules (S); Bordo de Gaunes, Bros, Bors, Boz, Bort, Borz, Bers, Brez (V); Bordon de Gaones, Bores (TL).

8. Brangain, Brangein, Brangem (Lös.); Braguina, Barghina, Blaguina, Braghina, Barchina, Brachina (R); Brandina, Banguina (S); Brangen, Branjen, Brangel (V); Brangel (TL). The form Brangele occurs once in R in a marginal note, so we have an Italian

analogue for this unusual orthography which TL has consistently adopted.

9. Brehus sans Pitié (Lös.); Brius sens Pitié (R restored); Breus senza pietà or il Disamorato (S); Breus syn Piedat (V); Brines sin Piedad (TL). The change of u to n or vice versa is, of course, one of the commonest of scribal errors.

10. Blanor le Brun (Lös.); Breunor (Malory); Blanor, Blanoro, Brunor, Brunoro (R); Branoro, Brunoro (P); Brunoro lo Brun or Bruno (S); Brunor (V); Brauor (TL). Close agreement between R, S, P, and V. The name Brauor occurs in the *Amadis* as Bonilla has pointed out.<sup>25</sup> The form was probably directly derived from TL or some closely related MS.

11. Château du Pas (Lös.); Cornassen, Cornesen (R); Cornasin, Cornasim, Tornasin (S); Tarasyn (V); Cornezino (TL). The interchange of c and t is very common, but it is interesting to see the two languages agree in showing it in the same name.

12. Château des Plours (Lös.); Castello de Proro (R, S); Castillo del Pero (V); Castillo de Ploto (TL). The Italian *Due Tristani*, which we know is translated from a descendant of TL, has Piotto.<sup>26</sup> The Old Spanish had the word *ploro* but it is plain that the Spanish translator did not recognize the Italian word. The V scribe seems to recognize that he has made an error, for save in one instance, he avoids the name and writes instead: castillo del rrey.

13. Dinadan(t) (Lös.); Dinadamo, Dinadam (R); Dinadano, Dinadam, Dienadano (S); Dinadani (V); Dinadan (TL).

14. Dyalet(h)es, Dialeces (Lös.); Dialicies (R); Diabeltres (P); Dialantes, Dilantes, Dilentes (S); Delizdra, Dulzdra (V); Edon (TL). A typical instance of how when the names have been corrupted the Italian forms stand nearer the French. There may be some connection between Edon and Apolidon who figures in Book II of the *Amadis*. The latter gains control of the Insula Firme by defeating a giant, according to the custom of the island, as in the *Tristram*. Edon held sway over the Insulas Luengas which correspond to the Lontane Isole of R and P, the Isles lointaines of Löseth. But in the V MS. we have Insulas Firmes.

<sup>25</sup> Bonilla, *Libros de Caballerías*, vol. I, p. 367.

<sup>26</sup> Löseth, *op. cit.*, p. xxiii

There are other details which make it probable that the author or authors of the *Amadis* drew in part from the Tristram for this episode.<sup>27</sup>

15. Félix (Lös.); Filicie, Felicie, Felicies (R); Felice, Fecile (P); Felis (S); Felipo (V); Philippo (TL). A form like Felice might easily have suggested Felipe, Felipo to a Spanish translator.

16. La femme de Segurades (Lös.); la damigella dell'Agua della Spina (R); la damisela del agua dela spina (L); la damisella del uagua spina (F); la damigella del lago della spina (P); la donzella ebraa dell' aigua della spina, Delaigna, Dellaigua, la donzella ebaia della lingua (S); la Dueña del Quarto Blanco de la Espina (V); la Dueña del Lago del Espina (TL). TL in close agreement with P.

17. Gaheriet, Gahariet, Gaheret (Lös.); Gariet, Gariette, Garietto (R); Gariette, Garitte (S); Gariete, Gariet, Garied (V); Gariet, Gariete (TL).

18. Galehout (Lös.); Galeotto, Ghaleotto, Chaleotto (R); Galeot, Galeotto (P); Galeotto, Galiotto lo Bruno (S); Galeote (V, TL).

19. Gauvain, Gavain (Lös.); Galvano lo Leale (R); Calvano, Galvano Innamorato (S); Galuan el Leal (V, TL).

20. Godoine (Beroul); Löseth has Andret. This interchange of names has been commented upon above. Ghedin, Gheddin, Gheddino, Ghidîn, Ghedis, Chedin, Kedin (R); Gedis (P); Ghedis (F); Godino, Gudino (V); Echides (TL, throughout one adventure, elsewhere Aldaret); Andrette Ghidon (S, in one instance only, elsewhere Andriette, Adriette, Adrette). In P, the form Dorin occurs once. One of the most marked peculiarities of the Italian texts is the interchange of c, g, ch, gh.<sup>28</sup> Many examples appear in this list. E.g., Gaunes, Caunes; Galvano, Calvano; Chouernale, etc. The form Echides I refer to some such original as Chedis, Chidis. Notice the similarity of V, R, P, F.

21. Gouvernal, Gouvernail, Govenal (Lös.); Governale, Chouvernale (R); Governale lo Pensoso (S); Goruanao, Gornayo, Goruanayo (V). The latter form may show a popular etymology. Gouvernal was the ayo or mentor of Tristram. Gorualan (TL).

<sup>27</sup> But cf. what Miss Williams has to say regarding the source of this episode. *The Amadis Question* (*Rev. Hisp.*, vol. XXI, No. 59), pp. 110 ff.

<sup>28</sup> Parodi, *op. cit.*, p. cxxx, discusses this peculiarity and gives examples.

22. Hector des Marès (Lös.); Hestor di Mares (P); Estore da Mare, Astore, Istor, Hestor (R); Astor (S); Estor de Mares, Astor, Eror (V); Estor de Mares (TL). A double agreement between V and R.

23. Heliabel, Isabel (Lös.); Eliabelle, -bel, -bela (R); Eliabella (S); Isabela (L); Ysabel (V, TL).

24. Iseut la bloie, Iseult la blonde (Lös.); Isotta la bionda, Isotta la blonda, Isaotta (R); Ysotta la bronda (P); Isotta la bionda (S); Yseo la baça (V); Yseo la brunda (TL). I believe the form *brunda* in the Spanish represents an Italian *bronda*. It was then identified with the Spanish *bruna*, and the synonym *baça* was the next step. This would explain the miracle of Iseult's change from blonde to brunette on passing into Spain. S bestows the name Isolda on the other Iseult.

25. Isle des Géants (Lös.); Isola degli Giganti (R, S); Isla del Gigante (V, TL).

26. Joseph d'Arimathie (Lös.); Giuseppe di Brarimattia (R); Giuseppe di Bramanzia (S); Josep Abaramatia (V); Joseph Abarimattia. The name appears in the latter form in the *Baladro* and also in *La demanda del sancto Grial*. The better known the name, the less valuable for purposes of comparison, because wherever a well-known national form existed the scribe would naturally use it.

27. Joyeuse Garde (Lös.); Gioiosa Guardia (S); Joyosa Guarda (V); Giosa Guarda (TL). This last is the most obvious instance of Italian origin for TL. The word Gioiosa was not translated but retained in shortened form.

28. Kahedin, Kehedin (Lös.); Kehydus (Malory); Ghedin, Ghedis, Chedin, Kedin (R); Ghedino, Gheddino, Gheldino (S); Godis (V); Quedin (TL). In R, there has been the greatest confusion between the forms deriving from Godoine and those which came from Kahedin. This uncertainty the Spanish scribes have avoided by generalizing each in favor of a single form. At first sight, the Spanish forms Godis and Quedin appear unrelated; but bearing in mind the interchange of c and g already alluded to, the relationship is obvious.

29. Keu (Lös.); Chiello, Chielo (F); Chieri lo Ree Siniscalco (R); Chieso lo Re Siniscalco, Chiesso, Ghieuso, Gheus, Greus (S); El Rrey Senescal (V); Queas (TL).



30. Lambegant, Lambègue (Lös.); Lambegues, Lanbeguis (R); Lambris (L); Lanbis (F); Lambergus (S); Lanbrosyn dela Spina, Lanbron, Linbrosin (V); Lambagues, Lanbrojesin (TL). V seems nearest akin to F or L. It is a peculiarity of V to add -in, -yn to names ending in s. Cf. Anguis, Languisyn. The usual form in TL, the first, agrees closely with the commonest form in R.

31. Lamorat, Lamoral de Galles (Lös.); Amorat, Amoratto di Gales, Gaules, Lamoratto (R); Amorat, Amoratto di Gaules(se), Lamoratto, Lamorotto (S); Amorante, El Amorante, Lamorante, Amorat, Lamoratto de Gales, Galles (V); Lamarad de Ganoes (TL). R, S, and V agree in their uncertainty as to whether the initial L should be considered as the elided article or part of the name. Lamorante occurs both in the *Baladro* and in *La demanda*.

32. Lo(u)veze(r)p(h), Lonazep (Lös.); Lonazep (Malory); Verzepo, Verzeppo (P); Verzeppo, Verzeppo (S); Vercepon (TL). V and R do not enter into comparison. Notice the close accord of TL with P and S in respect to this shortened name.

33. Lion(n)el (Lös.); Leonello (R); Lionello (S); Leonel (V, TL). Lionel in *La demanda*.

34. Meleaguant, Meleagrant (Lös.); Meliagus, Meliagusso (R); Meliagans (S); Melyagans, Melyaganes, Meligans (V); Melianes, Meliengas, Meliangas (TL). V agrees with S.

35. Le Morhout (Lös.); Amoroldo, Lamoroldo, Amoraldo (R); Amoroldo with or without the article, Amorotto, Morotto (S); Esmerol with or without the article (V); Morlot (TL). Esmerol seems to correspond closely with Amoroldo. There may have been a prefix interchange such as we meet with in V in the case of such words as *atordido*, *estordido*. The *Amadis* shows the form *Marlote*; the *Baladro* has *Morloc*.

36. Palamedes (Lös.); Pallamides(se) (R); Palamides (S); Palomades (V, TL, also *La demanda*). The *Tablante de Ricamonte* shows *Palomedes*.

37. Pharamond, -ont (Lös.); Ferramonte di Gaules (R); Ferramonte, Fieramonte (S); Framont de Gaulas, Gaules (V); Fere-mondo de Gaula (TL).

38. The form Piolonor (TL) with its initial Pi-, corresponding to initial Pl- in Plamor (V), I at first considered an Italianism which had crept into the Spanish. But, aside from the fact that

pl- of the French usually gives pr- in R, it seems more probable that both Spanish forms go back to Pelinor, although that name does not fit the connection. The Italian versions, in the corresponding passages have: Bando di Machin (R); Bando di Magus (S), which is here the correct name. In other passages which do not enter into comparison with the Spanish, R has the forms: Pellinor, Pillinoro, Pellinoro, Polinoro, Pelinoro (S).

39. Sagremor (Lös.); Sagrimon, Sagrimors (R); Sagramor, Sagramor (P); Sagramor, Sogramorre (S); Sagramon, Sagramor (V); Sagramor (TL). V has the erroneous final n which we see in R.

40. Segurades, Segurant (Lös.); Sigris, Segris (R); Sagris, Sacris (S); Segris, Sagris, Segro (V). Close agreement between V and both R and S. TL does not enter into comparison as the name Sagramor has always been erroneously substituted. As before stated, all these names occur in place of Lambègue in the French.

This concludes my list of proper names. I have not consciously omitted any form which would tend to disprove my theory and suggest French rather than Italian origin. I have, however, omitted a few inconclusive cases like Camelot, Camalot, Camalote which might as readily come from the French Camalot as from the Italian Camellot, Camellotto. I have also omitted a few of the more common names like Arthur, Tristan, Mares, Lançarote, which were already household words in the Iberic peninsula. Comparison with other Spanish Arthurian romances has shown these forms to be fairly well fixed, and, it has seemed to me probable that where well known national forms existed, the Spanish scribe would be less bound by the Italian forms. This is not saying that the Italian analogues are not close in these cases also.

In the above list I consider especially significant Nos. 1, 2, 5, 10, 11, 12, 16, 20, 22, 24, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 35, 39, 40. The form Giosa Guarda alone seems to settle the matter for TL; and V and TL are so very intimately related that if the one be of Italian origin the other must be likewise. It will be found very difficult to derive many of the Spanish names from the corresponding French forms. I am aware that a study of the MSS. would reveal many additional French variants, but I do not believe that such an investi-

gation would materially alter the results. On the contrary, nearly every Spanish name is close to some variant afforded by the Italian. The agreement between the names in V and TL and those in P, F, and L has been found so close in the few cases when I have been able to control these MSS. that I am certain a careful study of them would reveal many more points of similarity. And were it possible to recover the lost prototype from which V and TL spring, the comparisons would be closer still. Now attempt to reverse the process and derive Italian forms from the Spanish, and failure will be the result. All this cannot be due to chance. Chance might account for a few resemblances of form but not for the many which have been observed. I conclude that the Italian members of the group spring from a translation out of the French and that the Spanish members in some way derive from the Italian.

The present writer started this investigation with no preconceived idea of Italian origins. The theory has developed out of a study of MSS. relations, the full results of which will be published later. If the Spanish Prose Tristram were not of direct French origin, it at first seemed more likely that it should have come through the Portuguese or the Catalan.<sup>29</sup> I can, however, discover no evidence that the Spanish texts have passed through either the Portuguese or the Catalan tongues. The discovery that the Spanish versions are less faithful to the French than are the Italian does not greatly diminish their importance. The Riccardiano Tristram is priceless because, in spite of errors and contaminations, it preserves many primitive traits and lacks the tedious accretions which disfigure the extant French MSS. But the Riccardiano is a torso and it is to the Spanish versions that one must turn for the continuation of that important romance. V and TL show in the latter portion of the story occasional points of contact with the *Tavola Ritonda*, but the comparisons are not close as in the earlier portion of the work.

Did any other Spanish Arthurian romances reach Spain via Italy? That is an important question for future research to answer.

<sup>29</sup> As to the existence of Portuguese and Catalan versions of the Prose Tristram, for the Portuguese, cf. Menéndez, *op. cit.*, p. clxxvi; C. M. de Vasconcellos and Braga, *Geschichte der portugiesischen Litteratur* (Grundriss) III, 4, pp. 213 ff. For the Catalan, cf. Menéndez, *ibid.*, p. clxxi.

Before dismissing the question of Italian origins, some notice must be taken of the statements made in the *Prohemio* to the *Tristan de Leonis* (TL), where it is distinctly claimed that the work in question is a translation from the French. This statement demands investigation, the more so as so discerning a critic as Menéndez y Pelayo is on record as believing in a direct French origin.<sup>30</sup> This introduction is found in none of the related versions, and an allusion to the new art of printing attests to its modernity. It was probably written just prior to 1501 when TL was being made ready for the press. In it we are told, first, that in the kingdom of England was found *La historia de don Tristan de Leonis*, presumably written in Latin. Second, a copy of this history passed into France and came into possession of the knight Juan de Cerey, señor de Chumay. Third, this knight ordered Felipe Camus, *licenciado en utroque*, to render it into French. Fourth, the work of Camus was then done into Castilian, when, how, or by whom does not appear. This failure to mention the final translator is significant.

Now, Philippe Camus was an indefatigable French translator of romances of chivalry who is said to have lived in Spain during the early sixteenth century.<sup>31</sup> He translated from the Spanish and other languages into the French. It is probable that he translated from the Spanish an edition of *Tablante de Ricamonte*. We know that he prepared editions of *L'Histoire d'Olivier de Castille et Artus d'Algarbe* (Paris, 1533) (probably this is not the first edition) and *Le roman de Clamades et de la belle Claremonde* (Lyon, 1488).<sup>32</sup> I have considered the possibility that Camus may have translated into French some Spanish Tristram version related to V and that this in turn might have been retranslated back into Spanish, giving TL. That is, we should have exactly the same process of translating back and forth, which I believe actually did take place in the

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. clxxxiii.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *Diccionario Enciclopédico Hispano-Americano* under Camus; Menéndez, *op. cit.*, p. clxxxiv; Nicolás Antonio, *Bib. Vet.* under Camus. Menéndez plainly doubts the attribution of the Tristram to Camus. Gayangos, *op. cit.*, p. lxii, blames Nicolás Antonio for including Camus in a list of Spanish authors.

<sup>32</sup> Brunet mentions a still earlier edition of this last work printed at Lyon, he estimates about 1480. For the works which bear the name of Camus, see Brunet, Grasse and the Catalogues of the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale.

case of the Italian *Due Tristani*. This would offer an explanation for the puzzling fact that V and TL, while showing almost perfect agreement in content and order, disagree absolutely in language. Formidable in length as are both V and TL, from first to last, there is no sentence in V which coincides with the corresponding sentence in TL. The Italian MSS. show close verbal agreement. But here the Bonilla fragment (BF) furnishes valuable evidence. The verbal agreement between BF and TL is almost perfect. Inasmuch as BF is at least a century older than the 1501 edition of TL, it plainly long antedates any translation which Camus could have made. None of the extant French *imprimés* of Tristram bears Camus's name nor does any one of them correspond to the TL redaction.<sup>33</sup> Thus the claim that Camus was a translator who figured in the TL redaction may be laughed out of court. Of course, TL contains many highly colored rhetorical passages which could have had no counterpart in BF. But the eloquence of these is so Castilian that it is not likely that the Frenchman Camus figured as reviser either. Known as the most popular translator of works of this kind, it was apparently the custom to father upon Camus works with which he had no concern in order to give them a vogue.<sup>34</sup> The name Cerey, I have been unable to identify.

If further proof were necessary, it might be indicated that the closely related Italian MS. P agrees with the French in naming Luce de Gast and Elie de Boron as translators of the Prose Tristram (in P, Lucies Dolgaut and Ehelyes de Boron). Gaston Paris has effectually disposed of the claims of these alleged authors.<sup>35</sup> But if these statements are unworthy of credence, how absurd are those in the late TL redaction which credits an author of the Renaissance with the first translation into French of the old thirteenth century work. Doubtless the compiler of TL was sincere in supposing that the MS. which formed his basis had come directly from the French.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Brunet, Grasse, and the Catalogue of the British Museum under Tristram. The French prints have been analyzed by Tressan, Dunlop-Liebrecht, and Löseth. The latter states that they are all nearest akin to the French MS. 103. Our versions stand nearest to the French group: 756, 94, 99, 334, 776. Cf. also Schürhoff, *Über den Tristan-Roman des Jean Maugin* (Halle, 1909).

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Menéndez, *op. cit.*, p. clxxxiv.

<sup>35</sup> Paris, *Note sur les Romans Relatifs à Tristan*, Rom., vol. XV, pp. 600 ff.

In the year of grace 1501 the Italian provenience of the Spanish romance had probably long been forgotten, and as many French MSS. were circulating in Spain, he would naturally assume a French origin. This assumption has long passed unquestioned. Only close study has revealed its falsity.

GEORGE TYLER NORTHUP.

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO.

## THE SOURCES OF JUAN DE MENA

### INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THIS article aims at a careful examination of the sources of Juan de Mena, and especially at disproving the widely prevalent theory of his indebtedness to Dante. In a forthcoming book I hope to present a more generalized treatment of the development of Spanish allegory; and I publish this detailed discussion of a part of my studies in order to exhibit those methods of research by which I have arrived at my conclusions and which I shall not weary the reader of my book by stating in their tedious fullness.

### I. THE *Laberinto*

The "Laberinto de Fortuna" is a composition where, if ever, we should expect to find a vital influence of the Divine Comedy. First, Juan de Mena himself, by his travels in Italy<sup>1</sup> and studies at Rome, would be most likely, of the many poets at the court of John II, to welcome the imitation of Dante. Secondly, the very length and seriousness of his undertaking were calculated to suggest to him more than to Imperial or Santillana, analogies in the Florentine poet. Juan de Mena had, like Dante, both a didactic and a patriotic purpose, first, to present a penal system of the universe and a scholastic analysis of the seven Virtues, and second, to ameliorate the condition of his country by lashing the vices of his day, by arousing the King to action against them through an exhortation at the end of each section of the poem, and by inspiring an emulation of the different examples of merit that he catalogues. Menéndez y Pelayo is more specific, indicating such close analogies between Dante's and Juan de Mena's patriotism (which he deems the most fervid of his day),<sup>2</sup> as a yearning for a unified fatherland, and comparing the latter's harangues of the King to Dante's summons to

<sup>1</sup> Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, vol. 5, p. cl.; J. Amador de los Ríos, *Historia crítica de la literatura española*, vol. VI, p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> *Antol.*, vol. 5, p. ccvi.



the emperors, in the Divine Comedy, that they may claim their heritage over the whole world. He brings into relief, for another parallel, the violence and the gloom of his imagination—"la fantasía de Juan de Mena, ardiente y algo tétrica."<sup>3</sup> All this, in a way, is true. And yet there is a vast chasm between the aims of the two poets. Juan de Mena, though appearing in the field of literature two centuries later and at the budding of the Spanish Renaissance, in his general system seldom rises above medievalism; Dante transfigures medievalism. Juan de Mena's penal system is petty and trifling in comparison to Dante's;<sup>4</sup> and when we have said this, we are just at the beginning of the abyss that separates the two, for Dante's gigantic system is but the shell for a Titanic conception of the redemption of mankind by the purification of the will. There is the same diversity in political aims. After all, the Spanish poet's pleading with his sovereign, however ardently felt, is merely the ordinary outcry against contemporary corruption,<sup>5</sup> not free, as we shall see, from the flattery of princes that was typical of the time. By the bitterest of experiences Dante felt more profoundly and expresses more passionately the evil of his day; and his vision of a universal empire is quite beyond the national patriotism of Juan de Mena. Anyone who has read both compositions must realize that, even granting the vigor and the gloom of Juan de Mena's imagination to be in quality similar to Dante's, there is so wide a gulf fixed between them in degree that the Italian's essential nature must always have remained an impenetrable enigma to the Spaniard.

I have said not unadvisedly that Juan de Mena seldom rises above the general plane of medievalism, as I trust will be demonstrated by a summary and analysis of the *Laberinto* and a comparison with other compositions of the same kind.<sup>6</sup> After a dedication

<sup>3</sup> *Antol.*, pp. clxxx-clxxxv.

<sup>4</sup> T. J. Boudet, Comte de Puymaigre (*La Cour littéraire de Don Juan II*, vol. II, p. 82), characterizes his allegory as chaotic and meaningless in comparison to Dante's.

<sup>5</sup> B. Sanvisenti (*I primi influssi di Dante, del Petrarca, e del Boccaccio sulla letteratura spagnuola*, p. 96) misinterprets de Mena's exhortation (coplas 152, 3) to turn the energy spent in civil strife against the Moors, to mean: "Pure potesse la Spagna anzichè le arti di guerra coltivar quelle della pace!"

<sup>6</sup> I omit a detailed review, and sketch only the general scheme, leaving special passages for reference, as occasion shall arise. Sanvisenti occupies more than half his chapter on de Mena with a minute summary, and with liberal and often unnecessary quotations.

to the King and an invocation of Calliope and Apollo, in the midst of a denunciation of Fortune, the writer finds himself snatched up by the chariot of Bellona to a great desert, before a shining marble wall surrounding the Palace of Fortune. Out of a dark cloud there appears to him the lovely guide for his journey, Providencia. She transports him through the great crush at the door of the palace and sets him down inside, whence he can indulge in one of those geographical outlooks which were so dear to the medieval mind, here constituting a digression of inordinate length. Within the palace are three wheels, two motionless, symbolizing the past and future, and one in movement, symbolizing the present, and beneath them the unfortunate who have fallen to the ground. On the wheels of the past and present are fixed seven circles, to represent the different planets, and upon each planet its appropriate group of the blessed according to the medieval conception of planetary efficacy. With Providencia as lecturer, the writer inspects the inhabitants of each circle, and in some cases discovers beneath the wheel those condemned for the corresponding vice. The Moon is the abode of the chaste, Mercury of good counsellors and traders, Venus of pure lovers, the Sun of those who have attained wisdom in any capacity, Mars of worthy warriors, Jupiter of great rulers, and Saturn of righteous nobles, not sharply distinguished from the preceding circle. At the end of each circle there is a careful definition of the respective virtue and an exhortation to the King to repress the corresponding vice; except in Mercury, where Avarice is defined. The poem concludes with a panegyric, in the mouth of Providencia, upon the historic glories of Spain. Seeking to embrace her knees in reverence, he finds, like Virgil and Dante, only thin air between his arms. To the original three hundred strophes were afterwards added twenty-four more, usually printed separately, bewailing the oppression of the King by his nobles and having no real connection with the substance of "*Las trescientas*."

This allegorical experience, it is clear, is parallel to the ordinary medieval journey to the House of Fortune or Fame or to the Court of Love. Fortune is so important a deity that it is customary for the personages of a medieval composition at some point to resort to her palace, especially if it be a love poem. In the popular Latin

poem the "Anticlaudianus" of Alanus de Insulis,<sup>7</sup> is a palace of Fortune, partly rising in majesty, partly crumbling to decay upon a rock of variable climate, where she turns the mortal upon her wheel from the heights to the depths. The ordinary French conception of the House of Fortune is definitely outlined in the "Roman de la Rose,"<sup>8</sup> borrowing the variable rock, the house with its two parts, and the wheel from the *Anticlaudianus*, and the stress upon her inconstancy from Boethius.<sup>9</sup> An important analogy to Juan de Mena is the assignment of the unfortunate to a pitfall beneath the wheel.<sup>10</sup> The description of the deeds of Fortune in Nicole de Margival's *Panthère d'Amours*<sup>11</sup> is only a condensation of this inordinately long passage in the *Roman de la Rose*.

Beginning with the *Roman de la Rose*, it is difficult to find an allegorical composition in which Fortune does not play an important rôle. With Baudouin de Condé's *Prison d'Amors*, still in the thirteenth century, the analogy becomes much closer to the *Laberinto*. Fortune, conceived as the arbiter of lovers' fates, by the revolution of her wheel exalts some to supreme felicity in a tower and plunges

<sup>7</sup> Edition of T. Wright, *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poems*, II, 268 ff. That Alanus de Insulis was known in Spain is shown by the presence of his works in old libraries. For instance, we find among the titles of the library of the Bishop Gónzalo Palomeque, No. 27, *Alano de planctu naturae* and No. 28, *Alano versificado* (cf. R. Beer, *Handschriften Spaniens*, *Wiener Sitzungsberichte*, cxxv, Part I, p. 68) and in the library of the Franciscan convent, Barcelona, No. 2, *Alanus de planctu naturae*. (Cf. Beer, *Wiener Sitz.*, cxxiv, Part IV, p. 80.) In my forthcoming book, I shall hope to demonstrate that Imperial in his *Decir* on the Birth of John II, bases his conception of Fortune upon the *Anticlaudianus*.

<sup>8</sup> Sanvisenti (p. 114) admits that the fundamental conception is paralleled in the *Roman de la Rose*. "Quindi quello che già dicemmo essere il concetto fondamentale del poema trova riscontro non solo essenzialmente, ma anche per molte circostanze secondarie con una parte di quel fortunato poema di Jean de Meung, il quale proprio ai tempi del de Mena era posseduto da chiunque si fosse posto semplicemente a studiare; consultato, imitato, derubato, da chi si fosse accinto a comporre."

<sup>9</sup> E. Langlois, in *Hist. de la Langue et de la Litt. franc.*, ed. by L. Petit de Julleville, p. 134.

<sup>10</sup> "Tuit cil amis si s'enfoïrent  
Et me firent trestuit la moë  
Quant il me virent sous la roë  
De Fortune envers abatu,  
Tant m'a par povreté batu."

<sup>11</sup> Ed. Todd.

others into the abyss beneath, the Prison of Love.<sup>12</sup> There is an additional similarity in that the wheel has four spokes, each of which supports mortals in different degrees of happiness; the step is not too far to the arrangement of seven spheres upon the wheel. In general scheme the *Prison d'Amors* is only an elaboration of the Venus section of the Spanish poem: the operation of Fortune, in both, divides mankind into two classes, successful and unsuccessful lovers, and the French author concerns himself, as the title indicates, principally with the latter.

In the *Escharbote* of Watrquet de Couvin, in the first quarter of the next century, Fortune is more emphatically the center of the poem and does not confine her operations to the sphere of love.<sup>13</sup> The author in a vision is conducted to a city ruled by Fortune where, following her banner blindly, the inhabitants are dashed over the precipice of destruction. Against the fickleness of the goddess he is guarded by three allegorical "sergents," under whose control he is bidden to place the five "sergans," his senses.

The several elements that appear in Juan de Mena's poem are gradually added. At the end of the same century, the *Chevalier Errant* of Tommaso di Saluzzo betakes himself to the house of Fortune, where he finds not only ancient worthies and contemporaries of interest, but later in the poem listens to a judgment according to the standard of the seven Virtues and Vices.<sup>14</sup> Likewise, at the first of the fifteenth century, in Taillevent's *Regime de Fortune*<sup>15</sup> the palace is modelled after the *Roman de la Rose*, and, like Juan de Mena's, set in the midst of a great desert, the regular setting for disagreeable circumstances in medieval poems:

Sur lac de dueil, sur riviére ennuieuse,  
Plaine de cris, de regretz, & de clains,  
Sur pesant sourse & melencolieuse,  
Plaine de plours, de souspirs, & de plains,  
Sur grans estanz d'amertume tous plains,  
Et de douleur sur abisme parfonde  
Fortune là sa maison tousiours fonde—

<sup>12</sup> Ed. Scheler, vol. I, pp. 267 ff., vv. 839 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Ed. Scheler, p. 402, vv. 169-173.

<sup>14</sup> Groeber's *Grundriss*, II Band, 1 Abt., 5 Lief., pp. 1084-5.

<sup>15</sup> Printed by André du Chesne, *Oeuvres de Maistre Alain Chartier*, Paris, 1617, pp. 711 ff. Cf. *Grundriss*, II Band, 1 Abt., 5 Lief., p. 1126.

The comparison of the havoc wrought by Fortune to the effects of a storm at sea<sup>16</sup> might suggest a relation to an anonymous "Règne de Fortune," published by Montaignon.<sup>17</sup> An obvious parallel in another country is the *Kingis Quair* of James I of Scotland, of the year 1423.<sup>18</sup> In a round walled enclosure is ensconced Fortune with her inseparable wheel, off which are hurtled unfortunate lovers into a dreadful pit below:

And at the last, beholding thus asyde,  
A round place ywallit haue I found;  
In myddis quhare eftsone I haue aspide  
Fortune, the goddesse, hufing on the ground;  
And ryght before his fete, of compas round,  
A quhele, on quhich than cleuering I sye  
A multitude of folk before myn eye . . .

And underneth the quhele sawe I there  
Ane ugly pit, was depe as ony helle,  
That to behold thereon I quoke for fere;  
But o thing herd I, that quho there-In fell  
Come no more up agaue, tidingis to telle;  
Off quhich, astonait of that ferefull syght,  
I ne wist quhat to done, so was I fright.<sup>19</sup>

The direct comparison to Hell is worthy of remark. Another signpost in the *Laberinto* pointing to a French derivation is the prefacing of the allegory proper with a moral disquisition, here a denunciation of Fortune.

A more direct source was doubtless the "Amorosa Visione." Boccaccio, passing through the halls of worldly allurements, finally comes to that of Fortune, where upon the wall he sees her painted with her wheel, those in prosperity on top and those in adversity on the lowest cornice, "in l'infima cornice." The chief analogue to the "Laberinto" is the series of scenes along the walls depicting famous persons who have fallen from high estate to low.<sup>20</sup> While

<sup>16</sup> Coplas XI and XII.

<sup>17</sup> *Recueil de poésies françaises*, vol. X, pp. 79 and 83.

<sup>18</sup> *The Kingis Quair*, W. W. Skeat, London, 1884; for the date and an excellent summary of the poem cf. the introduction.

<sup>19</sup> Stanzas 159 and 162.

<sup>20</sup> Cantos XXXIV-VII. It might seem that the name *Laberinto* was suggested to Juan de Mena by the secondary title of Boccaccio's "Corbaccio,"

in Italy he may also have read the "Quadriregio" of Frederico Frezzi, which affords the closest analogy to the Spanish poem. In the second book<sup>21</sup> the author is vouchsafed a glimpse of Fortune ensconced in the midst of seven wheels, upon whose upper section, as usual, the happy rejoice, and upon whose lower section the unfortunate suffer. The most noteworthy similarity is the presence on each wheel of famous mortals, ancient and modern, not, however, as in the "Laberinto," divided into different circles: upon the fastest wheel, Ixion;<sup>22</sup> upon the others, in imminent danger of being plunged to the other extreme of destiny, Bernabò Visconti, Cola di Rienzi, Antoniotto Adorno of Genoa, Queen Giovanna, the two Mastini of the Scaliger family, and Giovanni dell' Agnello.<sup>23</sup> If Juan de Mena was acquainted with this fantastic composition of Frezzi, he affords another instance of the common phenomenon of the fifteenth century,—greater interest of the Spaniard in allegory posterior to Dante. The succeeding discussion will indicate other examples of such an interest.

The "Laberinto" is a composition of the same class as all these French visions, containing certain new architectonic features, some of them original, some Dantesque, and some from later Italian sources, and yet not to be distinguished from them in its essential system. Juan de Mena describes less fondly and scrupulously the details of the machinery, for two reasons: first, because the leaven of the Renaissance was beginning to stir up in him a rebellion against

"Il laberinto d'amore,"—a work which was popular in Spain and influenced the production of Santillana, especially his "Infierno de los enamorados"; but A. Farinelli states that this title was not known in Spain (*Note sulla fortuna del "Corbaccio" nella Spagna medievale, Bausteine zur Romanischen Philologie*, p. 439, n. 4). The greater popularity in Spain of Petrarch's and Boccaccio's conception of Fortune is witnessed by the acknowledged dependency of Martin Alonso de Cordoba in his *Compendio de la Fortuna* upon these two Italians (cf. A. Farinelli, *Sulla fortuna del Petrarca in Ispagna*, *Gior. Stor.*, no. 44, p. 311). In England, likewise, Chaucer turned rather to Boccaccio than to Dante (cf. A. W. Pollard, *Chaucer*, pp. 34-5).

<sup>21</sup> Ed. of Foligno, 1725, Capitolo XIII, pp. 147 ff.

<sup>22</sup> It is interesting to observe here the combination of two medieval motives, Ixion's wheel doing service for the goddess Fortune.

<sup>23</sup> Menéndez y Pelayo (*Ant.*, vol. V, p. clxii), calls the allegory of the wheels in the "Laberinto" original; but all these instances that I have enumerated demonstrate that the only originality which Juan de Mena might claim would be that of connecting his wheels with the past, present and future.

the pettiness of medieval prolixity, and second, because with some special visionary journey to the home of Fortune in mind, or perhaps, less definitely, thinking of all these journeys together, he consciously deemed it unnecessary to relate familiar minutiae, or, since these minutiae swarm in his own brain, he forgot that the reader of future centuries would not be so well versed in the intricacies of the mention of chance. If, on the other hand, de Mena's allegory be compared to that of the Divine Comedy, the system of the three wheels and their circlets shrivel into the compass of a trivial medievalism before Dante's towering conception. Realizing, then, the identity of this composition with the many French visionary journeys to the house of Fortune, Fame, or Love, let us seek in what the Dantesque imitation consists.

Of verbal reminiscences there is none certain, even in passages where a similar context might have suggested to the Spanish poet some lingering phrase from the Divine Comedy. I review the possible instances.

The gate of the palace is described as "grande e a todos abierta," but the warning is immediately given: "todos los que entran en esta gran casa han la salida dubdosa e non cierta."<sup>24</sup> Sanvisenti suggests a possible reference to the threatening Minos:<sup>25</sup>

Guarda com' entri, e di cui tu ti fide;  
Non t'inganni l'ampiezza dell' entrare;<sup>26</sup>

but in any case this reminiscence would be combined with the familiar

Lasciate ogni speranza voi ch'entrate.<sup>27</sup>

Such warnings, however, are at least as old as Aeneas's descent to the Shades:

facilis descensus Averno:  
noctes atque dies patet atri ianua Ditis;  
sed revocare gradum superasque evadere ad auras,  
hoc opus, hic labor est.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Copla 27. I quote from the edition privately published at Macon in 1904, under supervision of R. Foulché-Delbosc.

<sup>25</sup> P. 85; cf. also, Puymaigre, *La Cour*, etc., vol. II, p. 84, n. 1.

<sup>26</sup> Inf., V, 19-20.

<sup>27</sup> Inf., III, 9.

<sup>28</sup> Aen., VI, 126-9.



There is a direct reference to Aeneas in Hades in the next copla which is lacking in the Dantesque passage:

Angelica ymagen, pues tienes poder,  
dame tal ramo por donde me avises,  
qual dio le Cumea al fijo de Anchises  
quando al Erebo tento deçender:

and again a few lines later:

de priessa tan brava  
me toma, e de dentro me pone tan libre,  
qual el Penatigero entrando en el Tibre  
fue de los griegos de quien reçelava;<sup>29</sup>

and throughout the whole poem the preponderance, which I shall presently discuss, of the Virgilian and of the classical in general over the Dantesque, gives good ground for thinking that the sixth Aeneid was much more vividly present to Juan de Mena's imagination. The warning over the gate is common enough in the ordinary French vision without need of recourse to Latin prototypes.<sup>30</sup>

One of the principal reminiscences in his mind, however, as is so widely true throughout the composition, is the beginning of the "Amorosa Visione." The situation is not quite analogous: in the Italian poem, there are two doors, the narrow leading to the steep ascent of eternal happiness, the broad to temporal delights. The diction in describing the latter is somewhat similar:

Vidi una porta grande aperta stare.

The circumstance that the legend over this door promises the worldly blessings which Fortune is able to bestow may have drawn the eye of Juan de Mena to this passage, and Boccaccio's guide uses the same words about the difficulty of exit.<sup>31</sup>

Another question as to Dantesque and Virgilian influence occurs at the very end of the poem, when the author, seeking to embrace his guide, only catches at the thin air:

<sup>29</sup> Copla 31.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. for instance Froissart, *Cour de May*, ed. Scheler, III, p. 43, lines 1440-52.

<sup>31</sup> A. Farinelli (Note sul Boccaccio in Ispagna nell' Età Media, *Archiv für das Stud. der neu. Sprachen*, CXVII Band, 1906, p. 121) refers to the analogies of the guide and the door.

e yo deseando con grand reuerencia  
 tener abraçados sus mienbros garridos,  
 falle con mis braços mis onbros ceñidos  
 e todo lo visto fuyo mi presençia.<sup>32</sup>

The Virgilian passage reads:

ter conatus ibi collo dare brachia circum:  
 ter frustra comprehensa manus effugit imago,  
 par levibus ventis volucrique simillima somno;<sup>33</sup>

the Dantesque:

Tre volte dietro a lei le mani avvinsi,  
 E tante mi tornai con esse al petto.<sup>34</sup>

The idea that the arms struck against the body is once more common to both Juan de Mena and Dante, but on the other hand "todo lo visto fuyo" is identical with "effugit imago." The balance here again would be tipped toward the Virgilian side by the fact that the Casella passage does not seem to have appealed to any Spaniard in the fifteenth century; by the analogy in the Virgilian and Spanish situations, when it is the guide who is vainly embraced; and by the extensive borrowing from Virgil in other parts of the poem.

The wilfulness of Sanvisenti's method of proof<sup>35</sup> is flagrantly reflected when he claims a relation of Juan de Mena's plea for indulgence of his style and Dante's exhortation to attend to the allegorical sense:

Si coplas, ó partes, ó largas diçiones  
 non bien sonaren de aquello que fablo,  
 miremos al seso mas non al vocablo. . . .<sup>36</sup>

The Spaniard's purpose is clearly to excuse bad style by the threadbare suggestion of the greater import of the thought; Dante simply advises a sharpening of the wits, and there is identity only in the words "miremos" and "mirate":

O voi che avete gl' intelletti sani,  
 Mirate la dottrina che s'asconde  
 Sotto il velame degli versi strani!<sup>37</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Copla 294.

<sup>33</sup> Aen., VI, 700-2.

<sup>34</sup> *Purg.*, II, 80-1.

<sup>35</sup> P. 86.

<sup>36</sup> Copla 33.

<sup>37</sup> *Inf.*, IX, 61-3.

With diverse contexts and no verbal parallelism, Sanvisenti proceeds to another assumption as gratuitous. Juan de Mena, turning to Providencia to solve his doubts, says:

Bolvime con ayre de dubdosa cara  
al ensolvedora de mis ynorançias,  
como de niño que de sus ynfançias  
la madra benina non triste separa;<sup>38</sup>

Sanvisenti compares this to Dante turning to Virgil for the last time in fear:

Volsimi alla sinistra col respitto  
Col quale il fantolin corre alle mamma  
Quando ha paura, o quand 'egli è afflitto . . .

I can see no possible reason for asserting a direct relation between the two passages, except the natural similarity of two or three words, as in the former instance. We shall later have occasion to discuss the relation to the Divine Comedy of his treatment of doubts and of his general child similes.

When the writer, contemplating the sphere of Venus, hears Macias singing his sad history, if Juan de Mena had the Divine Comedy in mind, we should certainly expect, as we find in a similar situation in Rocaberti's *Gloria de Amor*,<sup>39</sup> strong reminiscences of the Francesca episode. As a matter of fact, there is nothing that approaches a sure instance. The repetition of the root of "amor" in "Sabad al amor desamar, amadores,"<sup>40</sup> may be derived from "Amor, che a nullo amato amor perdona";<sup>41</sup> and later the idea that to be loved induces love is elaborated in true Spanish fashion through a whole stanza with a repetition of "querer" in different forms at the end.

Vale assi mesmo para ser amado  
antiçiparse primero en amar,  
ca non es ninguno tan duro en el dar,  
que algo non diesse si mucho ha tomado;  
pues mucho deuiera ser mas que culpado

<sup>38</sup> Copla 74.

<sup>39</sup> Ed. of C. del Balzo, *Poesie intorno a Dante*, vol. IV, Rome, 1893, pp. 5 ff; fifth "canto."

<sup>40</sup> Copla 106.

<sup>41</sup> Inf., V, 103.

aquel coraçon que si non querer  
 quiere, que quiera querido non ser,  
 o por ser querido biua despagado.

The relation, however, is only a remote possibility, and becomes even more doubtful when we consider the desperate didacticism, so foreign to the Francesca canto, of the stanza just quoted, of the following stanza upon the boldness of faithful lovers, and of that in which Macias warns against love.<sup>42</sup> It is fatal to a theory of imitation in this episode that the author does not introduce Francesca herself, a figure which so much attracted Rocaberti, and indeed the Spaniards in general of the fifteenth century.

Nor does Juan de Mena refer to identical personages with any sure sign of a Dantesque reminiscence. Thus in the sphere of Phoebus, Sanvisenti suggests a possible relation of the list of philosophers to the catalogue in the fourth "Inferno."<sup>43</sup> But the lists are not identical, and the language of this canto is not imitated. As will appear later, there is as much reason to believe that he is thinking of the followers of Fame in Petrarch's Triumphs.<sup>44</sup> Juan de Mena does not adopt the phrase describing Aristotle, which has such good fortune in Spain, "il maestro di color che sanno," though he does give him the exalted position which the phrase implies, but he phrases:

Aristotle cerca del padre Platon,  
 guiando a los otros con su dulce remo.<sup>45</sup>

It is noteworthy, moreover, that, perhaps with somewhat of the Renaissance attitude which brought Dante into oblivion in Italy of the fifteenth century, he does not, like Imperial and the more medieval readers of the Divine Comedy, place Dante in the same group with Homer and Virgil:

Vimos Omero tener en las manos  
 la dulce Yliada con el Odissia;  
 el alto Vergilio vi que lo seguia  
 en uno con otro monton de romanos.

<sup>42</sup> 108.

<sup>43</sup> P. 123, note 7.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. below, p. 35.

<sup>45</sup> Copla 118. It should be said, however, that Fernán Nuñez, in his commentary to the edition of 1534, refers the second line both to Plato and Aristotle.

Sanvisenti might with better ground allude to the mention of Amyclas, in similar contexts, as the model of poverty. Juan de Mena is lauding Poverty:

O vida segura la mansa pobreza  
dadiua santa desagredeçada!  
rica se llama, non pobre, la vida  
del que se contenta beuir sin riqueza,  
la tremula casa, umill en baxeza,  
de Amiclas el pobre muy poco temia  
la mano del Cesar que el mundo regia,  
maguer que llamasse con grand fortaleza.<sup>46</sup>

Dante is depicting Poverty's plight until St. Francis came:

Nè valse udir che la trovò sicura  
Con Amiclate, al suon della sua voce,  
Colui ch' a tutto il mondo fe'paura.<sup>47</sup>

Though similar in idea, the two clauses about Caesar's lordship are dissimilar in wording, Dante employing metonymy where Juan de Mena is content with a plain statement; and the thought of Caesar's power would occur spontaneously when he is thus contrasted with the type of indigence. Amyclas is a common example of wholesome poverty. The verbal parallelism and the fact that elsewhere Juan de Mena borrows widely from Lucan, makes it certain that he here was paraphrasing the apostrophe to Amyclas in the *Pharsalia*, in which the latter plays an important part:

O vitae tuta facultas  
pauperis augustique lares, o munera nondum  
intellecta deum. Quibus hoc contingere templis  
aut potuit muris nullo trepidare tumultae  
Caesarea pulsante manu?<sup>48</sup>

When in the circle of Mars he alludes to Crassus and Mucius Scaevola, he never once hints at the language of the Divine Comedy, and in neither case does he attain to the picturesqueness of Dante:

Vimos a Crasso, sangrienta el espada  
de las batallas que fizo en Oriente,  
aquel de quien vido la romana gente  
su muerte planida, mas nunca vengada.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Copla 227.

<sup>47</sup> *Par.*, XI, 67-69.

<sup>48</sup> Book V, 527-31.

<sup>49</sup> Copla 140.

This should be contrasted with the epigram which Dante introduces amidst the warning cries against avarice in the "Purgatorio":

Ultimamente ci si grida: Crasso,  
Dicci, chè il sai: di chè sapore è l'oro?<sup>50</sup>

The same is true of the mention of Mucius:

e vimos la mano de Muçio quemada,  
al qual la salud del fuerte guerrero  
mas triste lo dexa que mon plazertero  
lo faze la vida por el atorgada.<sup>51</sup>  
E fece Muzio alla sua man severo.<sup>52</sup>

The straits to which critics are put to discover a reminiscence is exemplified by Puymaigre's attempt to connect Ugolino's "Poscia più ch'è'l dolor potè il digiuno" with the words describing the Count de Niebla's sacrifice:

Ca fue de temor piedad vençedora.<sup>53</sup>

There are, then, no indubitable verbal reminiscences. The possible instances that I have discussed become all the more indistinct when compared with certainties, such as in Imperial the translation of two or three lines of peculiar thought and diction. When the length of the poem and the number of analogous situations are considered, this absence appears all the more remarkable and prejudices towards scepticism about some of what might seem at first sight imitations in general conception. To a discussion of these I now proceed.

Juan de Mena does not attain even to Imperial's glimmer of the Dantesque idea of Fortune. At the beginning of the poem he confines himself within the ordinary circle of medieval ideas. He announces as the motive of the piece the fickleness of the goddess:

Tus casos falaçes, Fortuna, cantamos,  
estados de gentes que giras e trocas,  
tus grandes discordias, tus firmezas pocas,  
e los que en tu rueda quexosos fallamos . . .

<sup>50</sup> *Purg.*, XX, 116-7.

<sup>51</sup> *Copla* 140.

<sup>52</sup> *Par.*, IV, 84.

<sup>53</sup> *La Cour*, etc., vol. II, p. 106.

He approximates the language of the "Anticlaudianus" in his description of Fortune's paradoxes:

Mas bien acatada tu varia mudança,  
por ley te gouiernas, maguer discrepante,  
ca tu firmeza es non ser costante,  
tu tenperamento es destenperança,  
tu mas çierta orden es desordenança,  
es la tu regla ser muy enorme,  
tu conformidad es non ser conforme,  
tu desesperas a toda esperança.<sup>54</sup>

The parallelism of the "Anticlaudianus" is too close not to imply a mediate or immediate relation:

Cujus tota quies lapsus, constantia motus,  
Volvere, stare, situs decurrere, scandere casus;  
Cui modus et ratio rationis egere, fidesque  
Non servare fidem, pietas pietate carere.—  
Aspera blanditiis, in lumine nubila, pauper  
Et dives, mansueta, ferox, praedulcis, amara,  
Ridendo plorans, stando vaga, caeca videndo,  
In levitate manens, in lapsu firma, fidelis  
In falso, levis in vero, stabilisque movendo.  
Hoc firmum servans, quod numquam firma; fidele  
Hoc solum retinens, quod nesciat esse fidelis;  
Hoc solo verax, quod semper falsa probatur;  
Hoc solo stabilis, quod semper mobilis erret.<sup>55</sup>

Sanvisenti himself points out the relation of the debased state of Fortune in the *Roman de la Rose*, where her divinity is expressly denied, to her subjection to Providence in the *Laberinto*.<sup>56</sup> His logic here is specious but befogged.

Nel poema castigliano la divina Provvidenza commanda a Fortuna; onde quelle vicende umane che a tutta prima sembrano dipendere da questa, sono in realtà soggette alle leggi di quella; così il poeta, il quale dappprincipio esce in lamenti mostrando d'averne sulla cieca dea opinioni non dissimili da quelle condivise dai più tra i contemporanei suoi, poeti o no, trascesi appena i limiti del mondo terrestre, concepisce la distribuzione e la mutazione delle ricchezze, dei

<sup>54</sup> Copla 10.

<sup>55</sup> *Distinctio VIII*, cap. 1.

<sup>56</sup> P. 114.



beni, come funzione d'una potenza che regge secondo i cenni di Dio le umane vicende; è la teorica dell'Imperial, la quale ei richiama all'idea dantesca della Fortuna.<sup>87</sup>

Sanvisenti does not comprehend Dante's idea of Fortune; she is not a slave of Providence, who overrules her caprices, but a willing minister of the inscrutable purpose of Providence. Juan de Mena, rising not at all above the attitude of his contemporaries, represents Fortune in direct conflict with Providence:

suplico tu seas la mi guiadora  
 en esta grand casa que aqui nos pareçe,  
 la qual toda creo que mas obedeçe  
 a ti, cuyo santo nombre conuoco,  
 que non a Fortuna, que tiene alli poco  
 usando de nonbre que nol perteneçe.<sup>88</sup>

Dante deems Fortune good, Juan de Mena brands her as essentially evil but controlled by Providence. The latter's conception of Providence may be somewhat similar to the former's of Fortune, but such a similarity has no bearing upon the question at issue, for since the Spanish poet's idea of Providence does not differ from that of his predecessors or contemporaries or indeed from that of any age, an imitation of the Divine Comedy could be proved only by an imitation of Dante's peculiarity in the exaltation of Fortune into the sphere of Providence, or at least to be the just and voluntary executor of Providence's will. Juan de Mena's conception, on the other hand, is close to that of Boccaccio's in the *Amorosa Visione*, which is more easily comprehended than Dante's lofty flight,<sup>89</sup> and as usual reflects rather the ordinary French attitude. Fortune with Boccaccio is the usual unstable steward of worldly possessions, through whose hall, as through the halls of Love, Wisdom, and Glory, he passes to enjoy finally and more securely the truer blessings of his heavenly guide. Boccaccio's treatment of Fortune would have offered readier prey to Juan de Mena, because, in distinction from Dante's abstract discussion, it presents such analogies to his own scheme as an abode of Fortune, her wheel, and concrete personalities who have suffered from her whimsicality.

<sup>87</sup> P. 108.

<sup>88</sup> Copla 25.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. A. Farinelli, Note sul Boccaccio in Spagna nell' Età Media, *Archiv für das Stud. der neu. Sprachen*, CXVII Band, 1906, p. 120.

Since the invocation to Apollo and Calliope yields no verbal reminiscence of the Divine Comedy, and classical influence is very vigorous throughout the poem, it is even more hazardous than in Imperial's *Decir* on the birth of the King to trace this element to the "Paradiso."

The figure of the guide Providencia presents one of the cases where it is hard to determine whether de Mena owes more to his own originality, to Dante, or to Boccaccio. Providencia is like Beatrice and like the Lady of the "Amorosa Visione." She appears "cubierta de flores,"<sup>60</sup> and Beatrice "dentro una nuvola di fiori";<sup>61</sup> and de Mena may have retained a vague image of this passage in the "Purgatorio." The appearance of Providencia, however, reveals a curious similarity to some of the allegorical machinery of the "Corbaccio."<sup>62</sup> Juan de Mena is enveloped in a dark cloud, which, upon his prayer, is rent by celestial brightness and discloses to him his fair guide:

Estando yo alli con aqueste deseo,  
abaxa una nuue muy grande e escura,  
y el ayre foscando con mucha pressura,  
mi ciega e mi çine que nada non veo.

Likewise Boccaccio uses a cloud as a conveniently mysterious means of entering upon his vision. As he passes from the flowery to the thorny path, he is enwrapped in a mist, which, upon dissolving, unfolds to him the gruesome desert, "il laberinto d'amore." The language is strikingly parallel. "Indietro volgendomi, seguir mi vidi da una nebbia sì folta, e sì oscura, quanto niuna se ne vedesse giammai: la quale subitamente intorniatomi, non solamente il mio volare impedio, ma quasi d'ogni speranza del promesso bene, all' entrar del cammino, mi fece cadere." Since throughout the composition the Spanish poet seems to recall more vividly Boccaccio, as a writer more nearly approximating his own type of medieval allegory, I am prone to discern in Providencia rather the imprints of the "Amorosa Visione."

<sup>60</sup> Copla 20.

<sup>61</sup> *Purg.*, XXX, 28.

<sup>62</sup> A Farinelli speaks of more than one copy of the "Corbaccio" in Spain; cf. *Note sulla fortuna del "Corbaccio" nella Spagna medievale*, *Bausteines zur romanischen Philologie*, p. 414. Santillana uses the "Corbaccio" for his "Sueño."

The answering of doubts by the guide, as in connection with the three wheels,<sup>63</sup> and their anticipation, as in connection with the influence of the planets upon the wheels,<sup>64</sup> are not necessarily of Dantesque origin, since it is a commonplace for guides to read the thoughts of those entrusted to their protection<sup>65</sup> and to solve their perplexities. The mind of a man who had read the Divine Comedy, however, would naturally recur to Dante, who stresses and strongly individualizes this ordinary medieval device.

The next possible imitation in conception is the extensive geographical catalogue offered by the poet's outlook from the top of Fortune's mansion, which might be paralleled by two passages in the "Paradiso."<sup>66</sup> There is, however, no approximation in word or detail of thought to Dante, who is very brief and ungeographical; and the Spanish passage is elaborated to so inordinate a length<sup>67</sup> that it affords, like the long digression upon necromancy as a device used against Alvaro de Luna, a striking example of medieval interests. We need not go to Dante for such an interpolation, since it occurs as early as the "Somnium Scipionis"<sup>68</sup> in a simple geographical form closer to Juan de Mena. In Spain itself, upon the third side of Alexander's tent, in the "Alexandre" there is designed a "mapamundi," which the author describes at length;<sup>69</sup> and as early as St. Valerius' description of the vision of the young Baldarius, we have one of these regular bird's-eye views with geographical content.<sup>70</sup> To recur to Boccaccio once more, as a likelier source for Juan de Mena, in the "Ameto," the fifth Nymph, in recounting her amorous history, describes a vision in which she was vouchsafed a corresponding vista of this globe:

chinati gli occhi alle basse cose, mi si scoperse il picciolo spazio della gibbosa terra, e l'acque lei ravvolte in forma di Chelidro; ma

<sup>63</sup> Copla 57.

<sup>64</sup> Copla 67.

<sup>65</sup> W. O. Sypherd, *Studies in Chaucer's House of Fame*, Publications of the Chaucer Society, 1907, for the issue of 1904, p. 57.

<sup>66</sup> XXII, 124-154; XXVII, 79-84.

<sup>67</sup> Coplas 34-53.

<sup>68</sup> Somn. Scip., VI.

<sup>69</sup> A. Morel-Fatio, ed. of the *Libre de Alexandre*, Dresden, 1906, coplas 2540 ff.

<sup>70</sup> Ed. by the Abbe J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, Series Secundo, vol. LXXXVII, pp. 435-6.

poichè io m'ebbi lasciati indietro i piacevoli regni Italici e l'alte montagne di Epiro, mi si scoperse l'abbominevole Emazio co' suoi monti, della quale vidi dall' una delle parti l'onde di Ismenos, e la fontana di Dirce, e li monti Digii, e l'antiche mura, composte dal suon della cetera di Anfione, sopra le quali mi si fece palese il paicevole monte Citereo.

From such sources the Spanish poet may have caught the mere idea of introducing a geographical survey into his vision. If he needed the support of any more authority, he had Fazio degli Uberti's "Dittamondo" in which the visionary form is used as a dress for almost nothing but extended geographical material. It cannot be proved definitely, however, that Juan de Mena knew the "Dittamondo" or drew upon it, either for the idea or the substance of the geographical coplas. He may have based this tedious passage upon any of several authorities. He certainly had recourse to the thirty-third book of the "Speculum Naturale" by Vincent of Beauvais, for he follows the same curious order in mentioning the different large divisions, Asia, Egypt, Asia Minor, Europe, Greece, Africa, and the islands of the Mediterranean. Within these larger regions the order in which the smaller subdivisions appear is similar though not identical. Now the other writers upon whom Juan de Mena might have drawn, the elder Pliny, Pomponius Mela, Solinus, Fazio degli Uberti, do not observe this order.

There is a verbal parallelism too close to be fortuitous. Vincent of Beauvais in describing Egypt says: "regio celi imbribus insueta et pluviarum ignara. Nilus solus eam circumfluens irrigat."<sup>72</sup> Juan de Mena in the thirty-eighth copla translates and elaborates:

la qual cerca nilo que toda la riega:  
do el cielo sereno jamas no se ciega  
ni el ayre padesce nubiferas glebas.

Another example of his dependence upon Vincent of Beauvais is the description of the island of Icaros:

Icaria ala qual el naufrago dio  
de Icaro nombre que nunca perdio  
el mal gobernado del sabio bolar.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>72</sup> XXXIII, 6.

<sup>73</sup> Copla 52.

Vincent of Beauvais says: "Dicitur autem Icarum cretensem ibi naufragio interiisse, et de exitu hominis impositum nomen loco."<sup>74</sup> It is true that Vincent is here simply quoting Solinus<sup>75</sup> word for word, but Juan de Mena's use of Icaria instead of Icarus for the island shows that he is following the former writer. That he had other sources is evident, since he adds certain details which Vincent of Beauvais does not mention in this context. For instance, he refers to the marvellous spring in Epirus, possessing the paradoxical quality of extinguishing and lighting torches, which appears in the seventh chapter of Solinus and in the sixteenth canto of the third book of the "Dittamondo." But Solinus and Fazio degli Uberti, who follows him so closely, only declare that a torch if plunged in the water, would be put out and when removed to a distance would rekindle itself, so that Juan de Mena for his statement that a torch could actually be lighted in the fountain, must either have misunderstood these writers or be drawing here from still another source.<sup>76</sup> I find one passage in the *Laberinto* which is closer to the "Dittamondo" than to any other of the authorities to whom I have referred. Fazio degli Uberti in describing lower Scythia says:

Dal Tanai poi verso merige  
bagna el Danubio le sue ripe crude.<sup>77</sup>

The Spanish runs:

Del agua del Tanais contra el medio dia  
Fasta Danubio vi Scithia la baxa.<sup>78</sup>

These two lines, however, are insufficient evidence for asserting a relation between the Italian and Spanish poets; I would venture no further statement than that Juan de Mena had the *Speculum Naturale* before him and added details from other geographical sources.<sup>79</sup>

After the first four lines of Juan de Mena's catalogue is intro-

<sup>74</sup> XXXIII, 19.

<sup>75</sup> Chapter XI.

<sup>76</sup> Not from Pliny or Pomponius Mela, who in discussing Epirus do not describe the spring. Cf. Pliny, IV, 1 and Mela II, 3.

<sup>77</sup> Book I, Canto 10.

<sup>78</sup> Copla 44.

<sup>79</sup> Farinelli (*Dante in Ispagna, Gior. Stor.*, supplement, 1903-5, No. I, p. 60, n. 1) declares that there is an imitation of the *Dittamondo* in the *Laberinto*, without specifying, but I suppose with reference to this passage.

duced most awkwardly, as if interpolated from another place, an allusion to certain monstrous shapes that met him at the entrance of Fortune's palace:

e vi contra mi venir al encuentro  
bestias e gentes de estrañas maneras,  
mostruos, e formas fengidas e veras,  
quando delante la casa mas entro.

These vague terrors are to be derived, if from anywhere, from the hideous monsters, allegorical and mythological, at the entrance to Virgil's hell rather than from the definite wild beasts that Dante encounters in the wood. The verbal parallelism is especially to be noted in the line:

multaque praeterea variarum monstra ferarum.<sup>80</sup>

The disparity between Dante's and Juan de Mena's conceptions of the activity in each heaven arouses grave doubt as to how much the Spanish poet was indebted to the Italian for his classification of mortals upon the wheels of Fortune. The Italian usually chooses and develops with singleness of purpose one of that multitude of traits which Juan de Mena in conjunction with most medieval poets, careless of unity, represents as produced by the influence of each planet. Consistently with his purpose Dante admits to his celestial spheres only those who have exhibited this trait within the pale and according to the principles of Christianity; the Spaniard with little thought for congruity admits Christian and Pagan alike who have exhibited any remotest ramification of the trait. Thus to the heaven of the Moon Dante assigns those who were lacking in their vows of chastity, but Juan de Mena with perfect conventionality places there the chaste in general and in addition hunters.<sup>81</sup> The inhabitants of the sphere of Mercury are even more traditional than in Imperial's *Decir* on the birth of John II,—which reveals possibly a glimmer of the Dantesque light: wise councillors, just merchants, and liberators, and, beneath the wheel, sowers of discord, traitors for bribery, and simoniacs.<sup>82</sup> This diversity of character is in significant contrast to Dante's unification in Mercury of the active

<sup>80</sup> Aen., VI, 285.

<sup>81</sup> Copla 69.

<sup>82</sup> Coplas 100, 101.

life of honor and glory. In the sphere of Venus there would seem little opportunity for divergence; but the heaven of Venus in the "Paradiso" is occupied by those who have in mortal life been influenced with love or with charity, and Juan de Mena puts upon the wheel only those whose love was sanctified by marriage and beneath it all forms of illicit passion.<sup>82</sup> In the domain of the Sun Dante, as usual, consistently and artistically selects the one class of the Doctors of the Church from the numerous types of life which Juan de Mena together with medievalists in general placed under the influence of Phoebus. I quote the Spanish poet in order to give an example of his inclusiveness:

Aqui vi grand turba de santos doctores,  
e contemplatuios de aquel buen saber,  
que para sienpre nos puede valer,  
faziendonos libres de nuestros errores;  
filosofos grandes e flor de oradores,  
aqui çitaristas, aqui los profetas,  
astrologos grandes, aqui los poetas,  
aqui quadriuiastas, aqui sabidores.<sup>83</sup>

To the pit below he condemns the pliers of necromancy.<sup>84</sup> A more marked distinction is discerned under Mars: Dante admits only the warriors and martyrs of God; Juan de Mena, with no reference to religious warfare, except against the Moors, includes in heaven all those who fight for just causes and patriots who die for their country, and in hell those who fight for unjust causes.<sup>85</sup> Jupiter in both alike is the abode of great princes, but the Spanish is really again more comprehensive; for without Christian scruple and with symptoms of the unbalanced mind of the early Renaissance he mentions on the wheel, with the courteous exception of John II, required by literary patronage, only classical sovereigns,<sup>86</sup> and Dante opens the gate of his heaven of Jupiter to but two pagans, Ripheus and Trajan, and then only with the most elaborate apologies. Juan de Mena, furthermore, fills the pit below only with ancient tyrants. The circle of Saturn is conceived as absolutely different from Dante's

<sup>82</sup> Copla 116.

<sup>83</sup> Copla 129.

<sup>84</sup> Copla 138.

<sup>85</sup> Coplas 214 ff.



heaven of the contemplative. Not sharply distinguished from the circle of Jupiter, it is the dwelling place of just officials, with the corresponding sinners beneath.

I deny, then, categorically Sanvisenti's derivation of the Spanish circles from the Italian heavens.<sup>87</sup> He encounters certain similarities between them, but only instances in which Dante agrees with the general medieval conception, and he refrains altogether from mentioning the many and more striking dissimilarities which I have noted and which render it certain that in no case did Juan de Mena base his idea upon that of the Divine Comedy. The analogy is far-fetched that he draws between Cacciaguida in the heaven of Mars, who by exalting the pristine glory of Florence presents noble examples for imitation, and the Count of Niebla in the corresponding circlet of the wheel, who inspires by his own example. Each division of a pit beneath a wheel is, like the corresponding circlets, as heterogeneous as each circle of the *Inferno* and the *Purgatorio* is homogeneous. Sanvisenti fails to understand one of the fundamental distinctions between Dante and de Mena, and, indeed, between the Italian and Spanish mind and the literature that each produced, according to which the latter poet admits in luxuriance all traits that may contribute to momentary effect, and the former, in scrupulous regard for artistic unity, here and throughout the great poem eliminates from the plenitude of traits catalogued in medieval lists under each virtue, vice, and planet all but the one trait that accords with his final purpose.<sup>88</sup>

How far Juan de Mena is indebted to Dante for the mere idea of subdividing the abodes of the blessed and the damned, it is difficult to determine. It has been the convention of critics from Amador de los Rios down even to Farinelli to stress this debt, but I suspect that it is not nearly so considerable as has been conceded.<sup>89</sup> The mere theory of the influence of the planets, which Sanvisenti strangely enough traces to the "Paradiso," was a widespread platitude. Visions of heaven and hell are commonplaces. They begin

<sup>87</sup> Pp. 110, 111.

<sup>88</sup> For an interesting speculation upon the essentially artistic nature of Italian literature, cf. F. Brunetière, *Sur le caractère essentiel de la littérature française, Études critiques sur l'histoire de la littérature française*, 5. serie.

<sup>89</sup> Amador, *Hist.*, vol. VI, p. 98; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Ant.*, vol. V, p. clxxi; Sanvisenti, pp. 1089; Farinelli, *Dante in Ispagna*, p. 61.

in Spain itself as early as the dream of the monk Maximus, recounted by St. Valerius.<sup>90</sup> The regions of the other world are not infrequently divided into sections, as seems to be the case even in the "Libro de Alexandre."<sup>91</sup> There is a division into eight heavens in the "Pelerinage de l'ame" of Guillaume de Guileville, a work independent of the Divine Comedy,<sup>92</sup> the influence of which in Spain has not yet been properly studied;<sup>93</sup> there is, however, no direct relation between the French and Spanish poems, for the former peoples the regions of the blest with such ecclesiastical categories as martyrs, virgins, apostles, evangelists, and the like. Unlike Dante, Juan de Mena divides his heaven and hell into seven parts.

Sanvisenti meaninglessly compares the unity of moral system implied in the fact that virtue and sin with de Mena are the extremes of a single tendency to the unity which Dante possibly meant to exist between the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*. In the first place it is not at all certain that Dante had in mind any more essential unity than his own statement that in Purgatory the roots of the sin are extirpated and in Hell the acts are punished. Doctors disagree. Fraccaroli would consider love as the basis of unity.<sup>94</sup> Moore would deny any further similarity between the two systems except that of an earlier purpose, afterward altered, to base the *Inferno* on the seven deadly sins.<sup>95</sup> In any case Sanvisenti's analogy here between the Spanish and Italian poems quite obscures the issue, and is beside the point. Even if a single specific criterion could be admitted, a single criterion for two sorts of punishment is quite a different thing from a single criterion for the punishment of the

<sup>90</sup> *Patrologia*, vol. LXXXVII, pp. 431-3.

<sup>91</sup> Ed. of Morel-Fatio, coplas 2355 ff.

<sup>92</sup> A. Farinelli, *Dante e la Francia*, vol. I, p. 147. That a vision so similar to the Divine Comedy could have been conceived without any influence of the Italian puts us on our guard against finding imitations in Spanish when the parallelism is not exact.

<sup>93</sup> In the *Geschichte der französischen Litteratur* of Suchier and Birch-Hirschfeld (pp. 244-5) it is stated that this work was translated into Spanish.

<sup>94</sup> *Gior. stor.*, XXXVI, p. 99 ff.; id. XXXIII, pp. 365 ff.; *Bull. dant.*, n. s., V, pp. 76 ff. A review of these different opinions by E. G. Parodi and F. Angelitti may be found in *Bull. dant.*, n. s., VIII, pp. 43 ff. With the carelessness that characterizes Sanvisenti's whole discussion of this topic, he refers in the *Bull. dant.* to p. 41, the beginning of the review of Moore's whole book, rather than to the review of the essay in question on p. 43.

<sup>95</sup> E. Moore, *Studies in Dante*, second series, Oxford, 1899, 153-209.

damned and the reward of the blessed. The real unity that exists between the three "cantiche" of the Divine Comedy, based upon the purification of the will, is only implicit in the poem and could not have been known to de Mena except by a perusal of Dante's letters, which there is no evidence that he knew; at any rate it is of a nature too lofty for his comprehensions. What unity the *Laberinto* possesses, dependent as it is on the position of the blessed of a certain type upon the wheel and the damned of the same type beneath—an idea derived from French allegory—seems to me unconscious and the result of a natural arrangement that requires no invention. Even were it true that Dante taught Juan de Mena to unify his poem, it would not prove any influence of his heavens upon the circles of Fortune's wheels.

Certain episodes may reflect his perusal of the Divine Comedy. The sorceress employed against Alvaro de Luna, in demanding a soul from the regions below, uses abusive language to Pluto, Proserpina, Cerberus and Charon,<sup>96</sup> like Virgil in the *Inferno*, but the circumstances are very different, there is no verbal approximation, and the witch of the *Pharsalia*, from which the episode is taken, resorts to the same methods.<sup>97</sup> We seem to catch a glimmer of Dante in the historical personages who are discovered upon the mysterious wheels and whose tragic stories, like those of Francesca or Ugolino, are related by Providence. So the unfortunate Macias, though his life is not recounted, is heard in the circle of Venus singing a warning against passion. In the circle of Phoebus they see Don Enrique de Villena, and Providence relates the posthumous burning of his books on the charge of sorcery. The passage is in some points parallel to the Brunetto Latini episode of the *Inferno*. Mars, which, in covering more space than the other circles, perhaps offers an appeal to the prevailing military interest of the day and exhibits de Mena's much vaunted patriotism, is given up to the story of the death of two Spanish heroes. The first of these episodes<sup>98</sup> tells at length of the Count of Niebla who in the face of bad omens set out against the Moors at Gibraltar but foundered in a small bark

<sup>96</sup> Coplas 248, 250, 251.

<sup>97</sup> VI, 695 ff.; 730 ff.

<sup>98</sup> Coplas 160-186.

with all his men. The second<sup>99</sup> depicts the grief of the mother for the young Lorenzo Davalos,

que fizo en un dia su fin e comienço ;

and it is after the manner of many of the works of the time, such as Santillana's *Comedieta de Ponça*, in which the dead warrior is bewailed by his women. The sphere of Saturn is taken up wholly by a eulogy of the Constable Alvaro de Luna, an episode of greater extent than any of the others of like nature in the poem,<sup>100</sup> in the midst of which there is a digression, artificially too long for the modern critic but quite in harmony with the tastes and standards of the day, upon certain magical charms employed by his enemies against him. In these vividly related episodes he certainly approaches nearer to Dante than to Petrarch or Boccaccio, instilling life into the fantastic unreality of the allegorical type that he borrowed from them and from French sources.<sup>101</sup>

The scope of Dantesque influence in these passages, however, must be restricted. It is a commonplace for famous personages to appear in these visions. It is in no sense a Dantesque anomaly for mortals lately defunct or represented as defunct at the time of the vision to appear in journeys to the other world. In the *Aeneid* Palinurus and Deiphobus recount their sad fates at length. In the Purgatory of St. Patrick the pilgrim recognizes some of his former friends,<sup>102</sup> and Thurgill in his vision meets a lawyer whom he had known.<sup>103</sup> To cite a few examples from French and English allegory, in the *Lay Amoureux* of Eustache des Champs, the *Paradys d'amour* of Jean Froissart, and the *Confessio Amantis* of John Gower, the God of Love is accompanied by a train of lovers, ancient and modern, for his courtiers. Raoul de Houdan in his "Voie d'enfer et de paradis" encounters many bourgeois contemporaries,

<sup>99</sup> 201-207.

<sup>100</sup> Coplas 233-267.

<sup>101</sup> Menéndez y Pelayo (*Ant.*, vol. V, p. clxxi), notes the closer approximation to Dante than to Petrarch.

<sup>102</sup> E. J. Becker, *A Contribution to the Comparative Study of the Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell*, Baltimore, 1899, p. 89. This vision was known in Spain; there were copies in the private library of Don John I of Aragon (R. Beer, *Wiener Sitzungsberichte*, vol. CXXV, p. 12) and in the Biblioteca Nacional (Beer, vol. CXXVIII, p. 9).

<sup>103</sup> Becker, p. 97.

whose names are obscure to us, and especially one of the poets of the time, John the Humpbacked of Arras.<sup>104</sup> In the *Pelerinage de l'ame* of Guillaume de Guileville the soul meets old acquaintances and converses with them. A closer analogue is the *Livre de la mutacion de Fortune* of Christine de Pisan, where the castle of the autocratic goddess is crowded with famous personages.<sup>105</sup> If Juan de Mena is influenced at all by Italian literature, it is quite as likely that a vague reminiscence of Petrarch's "Trionfi" is flitting before his mind. Farinelli,<sup>106</sup> referring, I suppose, to the Triumph of Fame, suggests that in the circle of Phoebus he is thinking of Petrarch. The followers of Fame,<sup>107</sup> like the personages in Phoebus, are more numerous than those of Dante and are divided into more definite categories of philosophers, orators, poets, and the like. Petrarch affords as many examples of identity with the illustrious figures of the Spanish writers as does Dante. Certain stock characters such as Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Homer, and Virgil, are common to all three; of the less familiar personages in Juan de Mena, such as Empedocles, Zeno, Orpheus, Pythagoras, Demosthenes and Quintilian, the first three appear in the Divine Comedy and the last three in the Triumph of Fame. Farinelli<sup>108</sup> in a brilliant passage has pointed out that the superficiality of the allegory, the simplicity of style, the luxury of images made the "Trionfi" more acceptable to Spain of the fifteenth century than the difficult abstractions of Dante. Even Quintana, in the early days of criticism, recognized that the *Trionfi* were at least equally as important to Juan de Mena as the Divine Comedy.<sup>109</sup> The introduction of certain famous personages, moreover, is determined not by Dantesque but by classical prototypes. The episode of the Count of Niebla is in part an imitation of Caesar's attempted sail in a small bark in Lucan's *Pharsalia*.<sup>110</sup> The Roman is warned by Amyclas

<sup>104</sup> For publications of this work, cf. *Grundriss*, II Band, 1 Abt., 3 Lief., p. 694.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. the digest of this poem by F. Kock, *Leben und Werke der Christine de Pisan*, pp. 63 ff.

<sup>106</sup> *Sulla fortuna del Petrarca in Ispagna*, *Gior. Stor.*, no. 44, p. 328.

<sup>107</sup> *Trionfi*, VIII.

<sup>108</sup> P. 318.

<sup>109</sup> Manuel Josef Quintana, *Poesias selectas castellanas*, Madrid, 1807, vol. I, p. xxvii.

<sup>110</sup> V, 504 ff.

of the threatening signs of the weather, the Spaniard disregards the superstition of his monitor because he himself does not discern the evil prognostications of the weather. A verbal approximation in the description of the ominous signs makes certain the relation.<sup>111</sup> Likewise the resuscitation of a corpse by a witch to prophecy about Alvaro de Luna is copied, often with exact translation, from the visit of Sextus Pompeius to Erichtho in the sixth book of the *Pharsalia*.

With a stronger Renaissance tendency the Spaniard is not so much interested in contemporaries and pays greater heed than Dante to the illustrious ancients. If he were very strongly affected by the Divine Comedy, he would surely, like Rocaberti with Francesca,<sup>112</sup> have introduced some of the striking personalities from Dante's other world. In the same way, if he had consciously in mind Dante's denunciation of unworthy clerics, we should expect, as indeed we find in Imperial's invective against Seville in the *Decir* on the Seven Virtues, a reminiscence of Dantesque phraseology in similar passages. The "Laberinto," moreover, does not treat historical personages in at all the same way as the Divine Comedy. Much less dramatically, Juan de Mena neither allows himself to address them, nor them to speak for themselves, but instead in each instance assigns the narrative to the guide, Providencia. Such a radical difference would hardly be possible if he were thoroughly saturated in the Divine Comedy or had intended a direct imitation of it.

Figurative language reaches a luxuriance in Juan de Mena unprecedented in Spain. Much has been made by scholars of his innovations in the development of a distinct poetical style.<sup>113</sup> There must be some truth in this contention, for of all the poets of the fifteenth century he alone was so far appreciated in the highly ornate period of the full Renaissance,<sup>114</sup> which so scoffed at the medievalism of its predecessors, that two biographies and three commentaries on the *Laberinto* were composed in his honor.<sup>115</sup> It is

<sup>111</sup> Cf. below, pp. 43.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. above, p. 14.

<sup>113</sup> Amador de los Ríos, *Hist.*, vol. VI, pp. 106-7; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Ant.*, vol. 5, pp. cxcii ff.

<sup>114</sup> Menéndez y Pelayo, *Ant.*, vol. 5, p. cxcii.

<sup>115</sup> The first, by the Comendador Griego Hernán Núñez, was prefixed to the Seville edition of 1499; the second is the famous verse *Epicedio* of Valerio

once more difficult to determine how much respective credit for Juan de Mena's style is to be ascribed to Dantesque and to classical sources, but I suspect more to the latter than is generally conceded. Amador catalogues a much greater number of poetic words introduced by Juan de Mena from Latin than from Italian or French; and especially he notes imitations of Latin inversions, which would thus form another point of contact with Boccaccio, who, in his admiration for the ancients, did the same for Italian prose style. The Spanish poet was captivated by the exaggerated figurative language of the Silver Age, manifesting itself in Lucan.<sup>116</sup> Since in France and Spain, the germs of the Renaissance unfold exactly a century later than in Italy, Juan de Mena stands at that interesting transitional stage represented by Petrarch and Boccaccio,—in large part medieval, yet penetrated by an unbridled and promiscuous humanistic enthusiasm. Inasmuch as in Italy the stream of classical influence was not so much interrupted through the Middle Ages as in other Romance countries, and Dante and Giotto and the Pisani exhibit elements that in the other countries appear only with the Renaissance, it is almost impossible to decide whether the impetus to figurative language is given by Dante, by the Italian writers of the early Renaissance, or directly by the ancients themselves, especially in the case of an author who, like Juan de Mena, stands half way between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. In Imperial the simile seems to attain a more elaborate form under Dantesque influence, for at the beginning of the century the Renaissance is fairly negligible. Menéndez y Pelayo discerns the first glimmer of a special poetic style in Imperial. Juan de Mena partly developed the effort of his predecessor, somewhat influenced no doubt by the old Spanish use of the "enxemplo," according to which a concrete and familiar example is set beside a statement without a comparative particle. There may be a reflection of this aspect of the sententious

Francisco Romero of 1555. The commentaries are by Hernán Nuñez of Toledo, the Comendador Griego Hernán Nuñez of 1499, and Francisco Sanchez de los Brozas, called El Brocense, 1582. The Portuguese scholar of the seventeenth century, Vicente Noguera, says there were four (quoted by A. Morel-Fatio, *Vicente Noguera et son Discours sur la langue et les auteurs d'Espagne*, Zeit. für rom. Phil., III, p. 31), but Morel-Fatio is at a loss to know what the fourth was.

<sup>116</sup> Puymaigre (*La Cour*, etc., vol. II, p. 79) notes Lucan's influence upon his style.



style in the allusion in one stanza to the preservation of the temple and clergy from the destruction of Caesarea, and the contrast described in the next,<sup>117</sup> if such an earthquake should occur in Spain. The very word "enxemplo" is used:

e antes presumo que oy se fundiesse  
la clerezia con todo su templo,  
e que la villa quedasse en enxemplo  
libre, sin daño ninguno que fuesse.

By citing some of the similes of Juan de Mena, I can illustrate the close relation to the "enxemplo" and at the same time give a few specimens of his figurative style. A simile of a natural phenomenon is used to exemplify the action of Fate with the powerful:

e como los rayos las torres mayores  
fieren enantes que non las baxuras  
assi dan los Fados sus desauenturas  
mas a los grandes que no a los menores.<sup>118</sup>

There are similes corresponding to beast fables used as "enxemplos," for instance, that which compares the laws to spider webs catching the small flies but allowing the great to break through<sup>119</sup> or that which compares the impartiality of planetary influence to hungry lions' willingness to devour whatever falls within their clutches.<sup>120</sup> An analogy to the "enxemplo" from human experience is the simile that parallels great warriors' mirth at past battles to the relaxation of those who have played the game of "palestra."<sup>121</sup>

But the predominance of classical elements in his work would tend to corroborate a derivation of the predilection for similes from his favorite Virgil and Lucan. They are more pretentious than in his predecessors or contemporaries, and are so exaggeratedly frequent as to appear as another result of Renaissance enthusiasm. At times there are two even in one stanza, as when those who constantly change their allegiance are compared first to trees that are often transplanted and then to fragments of rock that do not cease falling

<sup>117</sup> Coplas 96, 97.

<sup>118</sup> Copla 226.

<sup>119</sup> Copla 82.

<sup>120</sup> Copla 266.

<sup>121</sup> Copla 157.

until they have reached the bottom.<sup>122</sup> The simile itself is elaborated to six lines, as when Macias parallels his persistent desire to the criminal's passion for evil:

E bien como quando algun malfechor,  
al tienpo que fazen de otro justia,  
temor de la pena le pone cobdicia  
de alli adelante beuir ya mejor,  
mas desdeque passado por el el temor  
buelue a sus vicios como de primero,  
assi me boluieron a do desespero  
deseos que quieren que muera amador;<sup>123</sup>

Or it is elaborated even to the extent of a whole copla, as when the poet parallels the fickleness of Fortune to the changing mind,<sup>124</sup> or his guide's irritation because of his perplexed curiosity at the wonders of the palace of Fortune to men ashamed of a green comrade:

Segund fazen muchos en reyno estrangero  
si alguno viesse lo que nunca vido,  
si non lo desdena y esta detenido,  
los otros retratan de tal companero;  
ca es reputado por mucho grossero  
quien faze tal fiesta de lo nuevo a el,  
que entiendan los otros que son cerca del,  
que non ouo dello noticia primero.  
Assi retratado e redarguydo  
de mi guiadora seria yo, quando  
el mundo me vido que andaua mirando,  
con ojos e seso assi embeuecido.<sup>125</sup>

This simile smacks somewhat of Dante's drawn from the same phase of life,—as when in the "Purgatorio" the gluttonous, looking curiously at Dante and his guide, are compared to pilgrims who stare at other travellers but do not stop.<sup>126</sup> In such comparisons to psychological states Dante found especial delight. Puymaigre remarks a similarity to Dante in the comparison of Providencia's joy at de Mena's queries to that of lovers who hear news of their be-

<sup>122</sup> Copla 61.

<sup>123</sup> Copla 108.

<sup>124</sup> Copla 11.

<sup>125</sup> Coplas 54-5.

<sup>126</sup> Purg., XXIII, 16-18.

loved.<sup>127</sup> Another simile recalling Dante's figures drawn from the life of children is that which he uses to picture the disappearance of his guide and the substance of the vision, comparing himself to the child who seeks to grasp the dust particles in the sunlight.<sup>128</sup> So Dante at a supreme moment does not fear to liken the manifestation of love by the flaming souls for the Blessed Virgin to the simple scene of a child stretching out its arms to its mother:

E come il fantolin, che invêr la mamma  
Tende le braccia poi che il latte prese,  
Per l'animo che infin di fuor s'infiama.<sup>129</sup>

There may be some significance in the fact that Dante as he is forsaken by his guide Virgil also reverts to this tenderest of comparisons:

Volsimi alla sinistra col rispetto  
Col quale il fantolin corre alla mamma,  
Quando ha paura, o quando egli è afflito.<sup>130</sup>

The likelihood, however, that Juan de Mena had principally in mind classic models for his similes, and that in general throughout the poem, whenever he purposed a definite imitation, it was rather of the ancients, is increased by the number of certain classic borrowings as compared with the uncertainty and vagueness of Dantesque reminiscences. It has already been noted that in his peopling of the other world and in his choice of language he leans rather towards the Renaissance than towards Dante. The classic atmosphere of the abodes of the blessed and the condemned might suggest the Virgilian journey as his chief prototype. There are indeed as many personages identical with those of the Aeneid as with those of the Divine Comedy,—Eriphyle,<sup>131</sup> Ixion, Pasiphae.<sup>132</sup> The sorceress also conceives a classic Hades presided over by Pluto and Proserpina.<sup>133</sup> The first definite allusion to Virgil occurs at the mention of Aeneas' connivance in the treachery of Antenor:

<sup>127</sup> Copla 234; Puymaigre, *La Cour*, etc., vol. II, p. 110.

<sup>128</sup> Copla 295.

<sup>129</sup> *Par.*, XXIII, 121-3.

<sup>130</sup> *Purg.*, XXX, 43-5.

<sup>131</sup> Sanvisenti (p. 91) places Eriphyle among the good, laboring under what delusion I do not know.

<sup>132</sup> *Aen.*, VI, 445-7, 601; Laberinto, coplas 90, 103, and 104.

<sup>133</sup> Coplas 247 ff.

alli tu le dauas, Eneas, las manos,  
aunque Vergilio te de mas onor.<sup>134</sup>

Again, in an exclamation against worldly fear, which forces mankind to deception and malpractice, he drags in as an example, so inaptly as to disclose his heedless Virgilian enthusiasm, the possibility of a confusion of the pugilists Dares and Entellus.<sup>135</sup>

O miedo mundano, que tu nos conpeles  
grandes plazeres fengir por pesares,  
que muchos Enteles fagamos ya Dares,  
e muchos de Dares fagamos Euteles.<sup>136</sup>

In the episode of the Count of Niebla, Juan de Mena reveals once more a devotion to the ancients by the combined use of two poets, Virgil and Lucan, to form the category of threatening omens.<sup>137</sup> The process is clever. Upon the details of the "Pharsalia," which would naturally be borrowed together with the rest of the episode, he engrafts additional picturesque touches from the first Georgic. Thus the Virgilian,

ipse pater statuit quid menstrua luna moneret<sup>138</sup>

is added to,

Lunaque non gracili surrexit lucida cornu . . .  
. . . . . tum lurida pallens  
Ora tulit voltu sub nubem tristis ituro.<sup>139</sup>

The result is:

Aun si yo viera la mestrua Luna  
con cuernos obtusos mostrarse fuscada,  
muy rubicunda o muy colorada  
creyera que vientos nos diera Fortuna.<sup>140</sup>

<sup>134</sup> Copla 89. For an explanation of the allusion, cf. the comment of Núñez, Seville edition, 1534.

<sup>135</sup> *Aen.*, V, 362 ff.

<sup>136</sup> Copla 93.

<sup>137</sup> Sanvisenti (p. 123, note 8) notes the double provenience, but probes no further de Mena's use of the two passages.

<sup>138</sup> V. 353.

<sup>139</sup> Vv. 546-50.

<sup>140</sup> Copla 169.

The language that Virgil uses to describe the beginning of the wind,

continuo ventis surgentibus aut freta ponti  
incipiunt agitata tumescere et aridus altis  
montibus audiri fragor . . . <sup>141</sup>

is applied to,

sed mihi nec motus nemorum nec littoris ictus  
nec placet incertes, qui provocat aequora, delphin.<sup>142</sup>

The result is:

Nin veo tanpoco que veintos delgados  
mueuan los ramos de nuestra montaña,  
nin fieran las ondas con su nueva saña  
la playa, con golpes mas demasiados.<sup>143</sup>

At the end of the same copla he seems to have mistranslated Virgil's

iam cariae pelagri volucres et quae Asia circum  
dulcibus in stagnis rimantur prata Caystri,  
certatim largos umeris infundere rores.<sup>144</sup>

Misconstruing "Caystri" as a nominative, he uses the term as if it were a species of bird:

nin los caystros fazer nueuo trueco,  
dexar sus lagunas por yr a los prados.<sup>145</sup>

That he uses Virgil in part for the description of the birds wetting themselves, is clear from the fact that both he and Virgil use the root of "rores." Virgil reads:

certatim largos umeris infundere rores  
nunc caput obiectare fretis, nunc currere in undas  
et studio incassum videas gestire lavandi.<sup>146</sup>

The Spanish is:

Non batan las alas ya los alçiones  
nin tientan jugando de se roçiar.<sup>147</sup>

<sup>141</sup> Vv. 356-8.

<sup>142</sup> Vv. 551-52.

<sup>143</sup> Copla 170.

<sup>144</sup> Vv. 383-5.

<sup>145</sup> The commentator Núñez also records the blunder, apologizing quaintly with "Sed bonus quandoque dormiat Homerus."

<sup>146</sup> Vv. 385-7.

<sup>147</sup> Copla 171.

So he combines the language of both Latin sources to form the picturesque figure of the crow, Virgil affording the first part of the quatrain, Lucan the second:

tum cornix plena pluviam vocat improba voce  
et sola in sicca secum spatiat harena.<sup>148</sup>

Quodque caput spargens undis velut occupet imbrem,  
Instabili gressu metitur littora cornix.<sup>149</sup>

Nin la corneja non anda señera  
por el arena seca passeando,  
con su cabeça su cuerpo bañando  
por ocupar la pluia que espera.<sup>150</sup>

Finally, to bring all the birds together that in the Georgic are separated, he adds from the beginning of the Virgilian passage,

cumque marinae  
in sicco lidunt fulicae, notasque paludes  
deserit atque altam supra volat ardea nubem;<sup>151</sup>

The result is:

nin buela la garça por alta manera,  
nin sale la fulica de la marina  
contra los prados, nin va nin declina  
como en los tienpos adversos fiziera.

Juan de Mena's use of the *Pharsalia* is indeed very extensive. We have already noted the Amyclas passage and the long episode of the witch. The allusion to Itonus (here written "Yonus") as the first coiner of metals<sup>152</sup> is also to be traced to this source.<sup>153</sup> All this borrowing, and particularly the careful manipulation of material from Lucan and Virgil in the passage that I have just discussed are indicative of his more devoted attitude towards the classics,<sup>154</sup> and

<sup>148</sup> *Georg.*, I, vv. 388-9.

<sup>149</sup> *Phar.*, V, 555-6.

<sup>150</sup> Copla 172.

<sup>151</sup> Lines 362-4.

<sup>152</sup> Copla 229.

<sup>153</sup> VI, 402 ff.

<sup>154</sup> This devotion of Juan de Mena's is a commonplace (Puymaigre, *La Cour*, etc., vol. II, p. 116; Sanvisenti, p. 115; Farinelli, *Dante in Spagna*, p. 62), but its nature and bearing upon the question of Dantesque influence had not been studied.

a comparison of the paucity and vagueness of Dantesque reminiscence to these definite instances, especially in the two most important episodes in the work, demonstrates that the *Laberinto* could more fittingly be described as a classical imitation.

To summarize, the *Laberinto* is a composition of the same class as the many French journeys to the House of Fortune, amplifying somewhat its scope by the addition of certain elements from the ordinary medieval vision of Heaven. Of the Divine Comedy there are no verbal reminiscences, and the conceptional reminiscences reduce themselves to a slight and by no means certain influence in the guide's attitude toward doubts, in the meetings with historical personages, and in a few similes. None of this influence, however, would be determinative, but would coincide with and perhaps in some cases slightly tinge the already formulated French, classical, and original conceptions. Thus, having already conceived artificial and elaborate similes in a Renaissance imitation of the ancients, Juan de Mena may have been slightly affected by Dante in approximating them more to the dear familiarities of ordinary existence. These hypothetical Dantesque elements might be likened to small rivulets pouring themselves into a great stream, coloring it somewhat here with the rich freshness of the soil from which they have come, rounding it out there with the vigor of the mountain torrent, but never altering its general appearance or contour. If one is strongly influenced by another literary personality it is likely that he will allude to him by name; for instance, Christine de Pisan often mentions Dante.<sup>155</sup> A comparison to Chaucer's "House of Fame" is once more illuminating. Its general scheme is closer to the *Laberinto* than is Imperial's *Decir*.<sup>156</sup> Chaucer in a vision is transported both to a temple of Venus and to the "House of Fame." There are the same unmeaning resemblances to the Divine Comedy, such as the presence of invocations and the use of a guide. Nevertheless, even though Chaucer has gone beyond Juan de Mena and actually introduced a translation of a portion of the first "Paradiso," it has been finally demonstrated that the composition can in no wise be

<sup>155</sup> Cf. A. Farinelli, *Dante e la Francia*, vol. I, pp. 80 ff.

<sup>156</sup> Cf. my article, *Beginnings of the Influence of Dante in Castilian and Catalan Literature*, Annual Report of Dante Society, Cambridge, 1907, p. 17.



counted a Dantesque imitation.<sup>157</sup> How much less the *Laberinto*, in which there does not occur a verbal reminiscence even of a line! I should, then, take decided issue with Sanvisenti,<sup>158</sup> who finds in this poem "il caso più complesso d'imitazione dantesca." The influence of Dante upon Imperial, however slight and inorganic, is greater. Unless the study of his minor poems, to which I now proceed, reveals a much surer and more vital imitation, I should also take exception to the terminology of the Portuguese scholar of the seventeenth century, Vicente Noguera, who calls him another Dante.<sup>159</sup>

The twenty-four copies that Juan de Mena afterward added to the "Trescientas" at the request of the King,<sup>160</sup> eulogizing John II, upbraiding the seditious nobles, and beseeching God against them, furnish no new information. They open with another simile from homely experience, in which the poet compares his waking from the vision to that of a man trying to collect his senses. His leaning toward the Renaissance appears in a flagrantly exaggerated form when he first demands of the nobles whether they consider the King as evil as a whole series of ancient tyrants and then equals him to as many ancient worthies.

## II. THE *Coronación* OR *Calamicleos*

In the second of the three poems mentioned in the *Epicedio*,<sup>161</sup> the *Calamicleos*<sup>162</sup> we shall find classicism running such riot as to militate at the very first against any vital influence of the Divine

<sup>157</sup> W. O. Sypherd, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-72, *et passim*. It is interesting to remember that Chaucer compares his House of Fame to the Labyrinth of Crete (lines 19-20 ff.).

<sup>158</sup> P. 115.

<sup>159</sup> Quoted by A. Morel-Fatio, "Vicente Noguera et son Discours sur la langue et les auteurs d'Espagne," *Zeit. für rom. Phil.*, p. 31.

<sup>160</sup> Modern reprint in *Cancionero General*, Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, Madrid, 1882, vol. I, pp. 107-113. The authenticity of these twenty-four coplas has been doubted by Sarmiento (*Memorias*, etc., no. 817) and by Ticknor (*History of Spanish Literature*, Boston, 1863, vol. I, 350, n. 57).

<sup>161</sup> Cf. above, p. 37, n. 3.

<sup>162</sup> I quote from the Seville edition of 1534, substituting letters for orthographic signs; here is also published Juan de Mena's own comment upon the poem, which Ticknor wrongly assigned to Hernán Núñez (cf. Amador, *Hist.*, vol. VI, p. 97, note 2).

Comedy. The scheme itself, however, offered as good opportunities as the *Laberinto*, and the very fact that they are not utilized is an argument in both instances against a theory of de Mena's Dantesque enthusiasm. On an April day, with the intent of attaining the summit of Parnassus, the poet finds himself astray in a dark valley, by the bank of a deep river, where at nightfall, under the direction of the three judges, Minos, Rhadamanthus, and Aeacus and before the three Furies, he beholds the punishment of the condemned, those who, as Tisiphone tells him, suffer

por mal uso  
del espiritu confuso.

Warned by the Fury, he escapes in a bark across Acheron, where he encounters the seven marine perils, "siete peligros marinos," which consist of dangerous parts of the sea, such as the Syrtes, and of sea-monsters, such as Scylla and Charybdis. When he awakes from the sleep in which his frightful journey has plunged him, he takes his way through a wood, inhabited only by the wise, until he attains the grove upon the summit of Parnassus, rich in every kind of tree and watered by the conventional fountain. Here are the seats of famous figures of antiquity, and hither come the nine Muses escorting the Marquis of Santillana beneath a canopy. He is ensconced upon a throne and crowned by the four Cardinal Virtues. After an apostrophe of the goddess of Fame, the writer is abruptly transported to the earth.

Juan de Mena is the first to endow the peculiarly Spanish allegorical form, the Coronation, with a definite literary aspect.<sup>163</sup> In Santillana's *Coronación*, the erotic aspect is still important; in the *Calamicleos*, this is lost altogether. Whereas the Marquis imagines Homer, Virgil, and Lucan as the presenters, and Venus as the ruler of the ceremony, Juan de Mena engrafts upon the form the nine Muses as presenters, thus combining the matter of Santillana's "Coronación" and "Defunssion," and employs the four Virtues for the act of coronation, honoring the Marquis not as the servitor of Love but as an example of versatile wisdom. He may have been somewhat influenced to the composition of a literary

<sup>163</sup> In my book on Spanish allegory I shall discuss at length the evolution of this form.

coronation also by the dream related of Dante's mother in pregnancy by Benvenuto da Imola, in the introduction to whose comment we have certain evidence that de Mena was much interested.<sup>164</sup> Dante is brought forth beneath a laurel, and in his childhood seeks to climb the tree to pick its berries. De Mena may have recollected the following sentences in Benvenuto's exegesis of the dream: "Laurus significat ipsam scientiam poeticam infusam a coelo ipsi auctori . . . Quod conabatur capere frondes significat ingens desiderium, quod habebat, laurae obtinendae."<sup>165</sup> A much more potent influence was constituted by such dramatic spectacles as that occurring in the actual regal coronation of Ferdinand of Aragon, described by the chronicler Alvar García de Santa María, for which Don Enrique de Villena may have composed the dialogue.<sup>166</sup> Here a child ensconced in kingly state upon a tower and symbolizing the monarch was eulogized in turn by the four Virtues, Justice, Truth, Peace and Mercy, represented by four maidens seated in four pinnacles of the tower. Juan de Mena's task would consist only in the expansion of the stage directions of such a piece as this into the narrative form and in the addition of a visionary introduction. All the essentials of the "Calamicleos," indeed, were to be found in embryo in Imperial's verses on the birth of John II, where the several planets bestow upon him their blessings and consign to him as guardians the Virtues.

Whether de Mena had read while in Italy the "Pietosa Fonte" of Zenone da Pistoia<sup>167</sup> I cannot determine. At least, it was not generally known in Spain, for I have been able to find no record of it in catalogues of libraries nor any exact reminiscence of it in the literature, and surely if it had come at all into the hands of fifteenth century Spaniards, it would have obtained wide popularity, since its substance was so closely related to the very allegorical themes of which they were so fond, and there would be some mention of

<sup>164</sup> Cf. below, p.

<sup>165</sup> Benevenuti de Rambaldi de Imola, *Comentum Dantis Aldigherij comœdium*, Sumptibus Guilielmi Warren Vernon, Florentiae, 1887, pp. 13-14.

<sup>166</sup> E. Cotarelo y Mori, *Don Enrique de Villena*, Madrid, 1896, pp. 36-7, especially 37, note 3; also F. B. Navarro, Introduction to his edition of the *Arte Cisoria*, Madrid, 1879, p. xli; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Ant.*, vol. V, p. xxxi, note 1.

<sup>167</sup> *Scelta di curios. letter.*, Bologna, 1874, vol. CXXXVII.

Zenone's name. The composition is in essence a panegyric for Petrarch. The author is led into the conventional garden, where before the throne of Jove appear in turn the personifications of the World and of Florence, lamenting the death of Petrarch, the latter adding a wail for five other sons of hers. The Liberal Arts and the Muses then present to Jove the different works of the poet, Apollo and Minerva with seventy philosophers and many writers of ancient days, escort him to the throne, the former crowns him with three wreaths of palm, olive, and laurel, and four angels descend to transport him to the highest heaven, to which Jove has assigned him. The points of contact are the coronation and the escort of the nine Muses, but the rest of the substance, especially the personifying of the World and Florence, is quite different. I should be loth to believe in Juan de Mena's acquaintance with the *Pietosa Fonte*, since the imitation of substance ought ordinarily to carry with it some verbal identity. Both the Italian and Spanish poems are rather separate flowers on the same medieval stem.

A mere Coronation, however, does not suffice de Mena's ambitious temperament and complicated and luxuriant conceptions of poetry. He must needs involve this purpose, since the presence of a kind of heaven offered the opportunity, by depicting, like Virgil, like Dante, like many medieval writers, the pains of the damned and the joys of the blessed. So in the first of the four preambles, which happily leave no room for critics to dispute over the poet's conception, he defines the title:

Muchas vegadas y la mayor parte dellas acaece que los nombres de las cosas nos denuncia y muestra la propiedad de aquellas cosas de quien ellas nombres son, y porende no es razon de dexar por saber un nombre que yo puse a este breve compendio; el qual nombre es calamicleo y este nombre es compuesto de dos palabras; la una latina y la otra griega, calamitas que es latina quiere dezir miseria, y cleos que es griega quiere dezir gloria . . . y aqueste nombre da a entender que en el presente tractado la voluntad del tractante fue escrevir d'aquestos dos fines, es a saber, de la miseria de los malos, y de la gloria de los buenos; porque un contrario puesto cabe otro mas claramente es alumbrado, segun quiere el filosofo; assi que en este lugar la gloria parecera mayor gloria puesta cerca de la miseria: y por el contrario.

Having once conceived the idea of a Coronation, he may have

been influenced to add the description of Hell by a Renaissance dread that a mere Coronation did not conform to any of the three acknowledged classical types, Tragedy, Satire, and Comedy. In the second preamble he defines these types according to the conventional idea, and is careful to show that the "Calamicleos" is both Satire and Comedy.

He was doubtless induced thus to round out his vision by the great number of medieval poems in which both a place of sorrow and of joy were represented. Virgil had passed from Hades to the Elysian fields, and in many of the monkish journeys to the other world, both Heaven and Hell were seen, as in the Spanish visions of Maximus and of Bonellus by S. Valerius. A certain class of French "dits" are often of this nature. Raoul de Houdan in his *Voie d'Enfer et de Paradis* passes from Hell to Heaven.<sup>168</sup> Jehan de la Mote composed an unpublished "Treatise" of the same kind.<sup>169</sup> Rutebeuf transforms this type somewhat when in his *Voie de Paradis*<sup>170</sup> he represents himself as leaving behind the broad way and continuing on the narrow way to the town of Penitence, where Pity shows him first the dwellings of the Vices and then those of the Virtues, until he finds a haven with Confession. Martin le Franc's *Livre du Champion des dames* of about 1442 is analogous to the *Calamicleos* in its manipulation of this old material for another purpose.<sup>171</sup> As the title reveals, its main substance is a "débat" between Franc Vouloir and Malebouche on that favorite medieval question, the character of woman. The author in the Castle of Love sees first a cemetery of unhappy lovers and the torment of condemned souls by devils, and at the end of the contest the coronation of Franc Vouloir as victor. A resemblance is evident also in several details. Under the weight of all this tradition Juan de Mena feels it a literary duty to expand his Coronation into a double vision.

<sup>168</sup> For editions and discussion, cf. Grundriss, II Band, 1 Abt., 4 Lief., p. 694.

<sup>169</sup> Grundriss, id., p. 749.

<sup>170</sup> Ed. Jubinal, vol. II, pp. 169 ff.

<sup>171</sup> For a good summary of this poem cf. the Abbé Claude Pierre Goujet, *Bibliothèque Française*, vol. IX, pp. 189 ff.; also Grundriss, II. Band, 1 Abt., 5 Lief., p. 1128. Farinelli (*Dante e la Francia*, vol. I, Milan, 1908, pp. 204-6) discerns Dantesque elements in this composition; but if they exist, they only show that Juan de Mena's conceptions are parallel rather to French adaptations of Dante than to the Divine Comedy itself.

That he distinctly purposed a journey to Hell and Heaven becomes clearer from his own comment. The grove on the summit of Parnassus is not so much a Paradise of literary achievement as a definite Heaven, the dwelling place of God conceived under His attribute of Wisdom. Parnassus represents God and the Castalian spring his omniscience:

Ca la sabiduria en las alturas mora, y aquesto assi se demuestra, que toda la buena sciencia de Dios peruiene, y el es verdadera sabiduria el qual mora en las alturas. Assi que para buscar la castalia fuente que es indificiente, la qual es sabiduria, el Parnaso monte deuemos subir, si quier llegar nos a el, el qual es dios que es verdadera altura, en el qual mora toda ciencia y buena sabiduria.<sup>172</sup>

Santillana is conceived not so much a literary genius as a man of that versatility upon which the Renaissance set such a premium and of which it produced in Italy such astounding examples as Alberti and Lionardo. He is, therefore, presented by the Muses, crowned by the Virtues, and distinguished from the others by an oak wreath for his fortitude and military prowess. In contrast, Hell should be the place of ignorance, and thus in this same passage de Mena speaks of "la ignorancia nephanda," siquier aborescedera, la qual ceguedad trae a los mortales en muchos lazos y errores, assi para la vida deste como otro siglo"; but he is so strongly influenced by his models that he depicts, as appears from the comment, Hell with its varied river of mortal sin and its types of sinners. Sin is considered an obstacle to true wisdom. Sanvisenti apparently not having read the commentary, formulates his own idea, which does not coincide with the author's:

Fu come concepita una visione che dimostrasse la eccellenza della fama poetica e l'altezza della personalità stessa del poeta, in antitesi alla bassezza di chi vive nel peccato; l'uomo, che colla costanza vince le passioni, si fa degno di salire al monte della gloria.<sup>173</sup>

The purpose, however, is not to show the excellency of poetic fame but of wisdom; the place of torment is introduced not to show the contrasted vileness of sin but because de Mena was composing in the mould of the ordinary medieval vision; Parnassus is not the mount of glory, but is Heaven in the aspect of its wisdom, and sym-

<sup>172</sup> Comment on copla III.

<sup>173</sup> P. 118.

bolizes God. How far the Divine Comedy is responsible for the amplification cannot be accurately determined until we have examined the poem for Dantesque traces.

There is nothing that approaches a verbal reminiscence. In the comment the Divine Comedy is once quoted, but it is noteworthy that this is only to show the honor that Dante rendered to his master, the classical Virgil: "Del qual virgilio en loor y gloria el serafico dante en la primera comedia escriue diziendo."<sup>174</sup> Sanvisenti with better eyesight than Juan de Mena discerns Dante among the poets present at the Coronation. The composition opens with the conventional astrological circumlocution for the date, which, like other elements that appear in an exaggerated phase, is here positively appalling in its intricacy and extent:

Despues quel pintor del mundo  
Paro nuestra vida ufana  
Mostraron rostro jocundo  
Fondon del polo segundo  
Las tres caras de Dian;  
A las cunas clariesciera  
Donde Jupiter nasciera  
Aquel hijo de Latona  
En un chaton de la zona  
Que ciñe toda la espera.  
Del qual en forma de toro  
Eran sus puntos y gonzes  
Do el copioso thesoro  
Crinado de febras doro  
Do Febo morava entonces  
Al tiempo que me hallava  
En una selva muy brava  
De bosques thessalianos  
Ynotos alos humanos  
Yo que solo caminava.

This elaboration might be due equally to Dante or Boccaccio. The forest, river of sin, and serpents are by no means peculiar to the Dantesque system, and the classicism of the Thessalian scene re-

<sup>174</sup> This is the reading of the Saragossa edition of 1499. The Seville edition of 1540 has "Dela qual" for "Del qual" and "sacrificio" for "serafico." The Antwerp edition of 1552 corrects "Dela" but keeps "sacrificio."



moves the description all the further from the "Inferno."<sup>175</sup> The souls who cry out to de Mena as he crosses the stream might suggest Filippo Argenti in the pool of the Styx; but in general the description, as was to be expected, seems more Virgilian and classical than Dantesque. There are the three ordinary judges; the condemned are taken from classical lore,—Ninus, Athamas and Ino, the grandsons of Cadmus, Jason, Ulysses, Narcissus, Actaeon, Hector, Tereus, Idas and Ancaeus, the Arcadian,<sup>176</sup> of the Caledonian hunt, the three Harpies bathing in the blood of Phineus, Ixion, Sinon, Castor and Pollox, Menelaus, the Danaids, and Amphiaräus; and among the allegorical perils of the sea are the conventional Syrtes and Cyclades, Scylla and Charybdis. The stress upon Tisiphone among the Furies is paralleled in the Aeneid. That Juan de Mena's mind was intent upon Virgil and classical sources is confirmed by the commentary, where at every possible opportunity, as for Cerberus, Ixion, Phineus and the Harpies, and the Danaids, he mentions the parallels in the Aeneid and in other Latin writers, especially Ovid and Boethius. I quote the reference to the Danaids to show the fashion of these allusions: "Fasta aqui va en parte fabuloso y parabolico y historico segun quiso escribir Ovidio de quando Juno descendio a los infiernos; y Boecio alla do pone exemplo de Orpheo, y Virgilio en el sexto libro Eneydos, de quando Eneas descendio a los infiernos; y Seneca quando Teseo descendio alla; todos hallan destas bellidas donzellas."<sup>177</sup>

<sup>175</sup> W. H. Hutton, "The Influence of Dante in Spanish Literature," *Modern Language Review*, vol. III, p. 119, says: "In the details there is much that is directly copied,—the wood, the crossing of the mysterious stream, the beautiful land in which stand the spirits of the blest." But the gloomy wood is the regular medieval setting for sinister allegory, appearing for instance in Italy in Boccaccio's "Corbaccio"; in Spain without Dantesque influence at least as early as Ruy Paes de Ribera (cf. my essay on the beginnings of Dantesque influence in Spain), the river is at least as old as Virgil; I have already referred to French prototypes of the "beautiful land in which stand the spirits of the blest." The astounding thing is that Hutton applies the statements to the *Laberinto*, where none of the details are to be found! Evidently he has presumed to criticize Juan de Mena's principal work without having read it, so that he is betrayed into confusing it with the *Coronacion*. I here take occasion emphatically to reiterate the disparagement of Hutton's mere résumé which I expressed in my former article.

<sup>176</sup> He seems to have confused Ancaeus with Lynceus, who is mentioned in conjunction with his brother Idas in Ovid, *Meta*, VIII, 305-6. Sanvisenti omits any reference to this hard line.

<sup>177</sup> Comment to Copla VIII.

The second division of the composition can be dismissed in the same way. The time reference, as he starts to ascend Parnassus, is again from classic mythology. The vacant seats are not indicative of a relation to the throne that awaits Henry VII.<sup>178</sup> Virgilian reminiscences are also strong in the second part. The four maidens who typify the Cardinal Virtues are made to sing:

Las quales cantando en ante  
El romance de athalante.<sup>179</sup>

Juan de Mena in his commentary says that this refers to Atlas in the character of an astrologer in the fourth *Aeneid*, whose lessons about the stars and celestial phenomena his pupil sang; he should refer to the first *Aeneid* where Iopas is definitely named as the pupil of Atlas:

Cithara crinitus Iopas

Personat aurata, docuit quem maximus Atlas.  
Hic canit errantem lunam solisque labores,  
Unde hominum genus et pecudes, unde imber et ignes,  
Arcturum pluviasque Hyadas geminosque Triones,  
Quid tantum oceano properent se tingere soles  
Hiberni, vel quae tardis mora noctibus obstet.<sup>180</sup>

In the fourth *Aeneid* Atlas is only named as identified in some strange fashion with the mountain.<sup>181</sup> At the very end Juan de Mena invokes Fame, beseeching her to divulge the Marquis' glory as she had the union of Dido and Aeneas, and in his comment he summarizes the apposite passage in the fourth *Aeneid*<sup>182</sup> and even digresses to relate the plot of the poem up to that point. The vivid impression that the Latin epic must thus have retained in his imagination would incline towards a belief that Juan de Mena was modelling his "Coronacion" upon the sixth book, where Aeneas after traversing the realms of darkness emerges into the Elysian fields to behold the glory of the illustrious dead.

<sup>178</sup> *Par.*, XXX, 137. Farinelli (*Dante in Ispagna*, p. 58) denies categorically the influence of the *Paradiso* in the *Calamicleos* and sees only a remote recollection of the Terrestrial Paradise at the end of the *Purgatorio*.

<sup>179</sup> Copla XLV.

<sup>180</sup> *Aen.*, I, 740-46.

<sup>181</sup> Vv. 247 and 741; cf. the edition of the *Aeneid* by H. S. Frieze, New York, 1860, p. 363, note on Atlas.

<sup>182</sup> *Aen.*, IV, 174 ff.

There is, then, no verbal reminiscence—a fact that diminishes at once the likelihood of whatever might at first sight seem an architectonic reminiscence. But we have been unable to discern any sure instance of even this latter kind of influence. The double phase of despair and happiness in the Divine Comedy probably affected de Mena, like other medieval journeys to Hell and Heaven, in the conception of his form. The conventional Coronation is formulated rather under the French and Boccacesque models.<sup>183</sup> His elaborate explanation of the allegory in his commentary might as well be suggested by the example of Boccaccio or of any other commentator on Dante or upon other allegorical writers as by Dante's own explanations in the "Convivio," with which de Mena, like other Spaniards, seems to have little concerned himself, or in his Latin letters, which it is doubtful if the Spaniards knew. Puymaigre<sup>184</sup> is wrong in assuming that he bases his division of poetry in the second Preamble upon the Can Grande letter. Even if the relation existed, Dantesque influence would not be proved, for the letter is of questionable authenticity;<sup>185</sup> but the Spanish is plainly a condensation of the similar passage in the commentary of Benvenuto da Imola, the second division of which, and probably also the first, Santillana's physician, Martin Gonçalves de Lucena, translated at his request,<sup>186</sup> and the preface to which was used also by the author of the translation of the first canto in the Escorial library.<sup>187</sup> There is nowhere in the *Epistola* an approximation to Juan de Mena's language or ideas. It defines only tragedy and comedy, simply mentioning satire in a list with other kinds of poetry. The Spanish poet makes the same threefold classification into tragedy, comedy, and satire and defines them all in the same way as Benvenuto da Imola.<sup>188</sup> There is even a closer approximation. In reference to tragedy he adds the characteristic of style "y soberuio y alto estilo," translating from Benvenua's "Tragoedia est stylus altus et superbus," and he chooses three

<sup>183</sup> Cf. above, p. 50, note 1.

<sup>184</sup> *La Cour*, etc., vol. II, p. 76.

<sup>185</sup> Cf. D'Ovidio, *Rév. d'Italia*, 1899, No. I, p. 5.

<sup>186</sup> M. Schiff, *La bibliothèque du Marquis de Santillana*, pp. 305-307 and 317-318.

<sup>187</sup> This fact I shall discuss in my future treatment of Don Enrique de Villena.

<sup>188</sup> Ed. Warren, vol. I, p. 18.

from Benvenuto's list of exponents, Homer, Virgil, and Statius, joining to them patriotically his own Lucan. Satire in both is defined in an identical manner, and de Mena repeats all three of Benvenuto's exemplars of this genre, Horace, Persius, and Juvenal. For comedy, he adds again the quality of style, "y por baxo y humilde estilo," translating "Comedia est stylus bassus et humilis." He also follows him closely in another characteristic of comedy, "la qual tracta de cosas baxas y pequeñas," translating "tractat enim vulgaria et vilia facta ruralium, etc." He then proceeds, following Benvenuto's classification of the Divine Comedy under all these heads, to ticket the "Coronacion" as both comedy and satire, and he explains this procedure in the same fashion. He concludes by referring the reader for further information to the Latin commentary itself: "de los quales tres estilos mas largamente poniendo sus diriuaciones y significados habla el comentador sobre la comedia del Dante enel quarto preambulo."<sup>189</sup> Finally, in explaining the significance of the laurel tree in the thirty-third copla, he refers to Benvenuto's elucidation, which is also in the introduction: "E otrosi lo scriue por estenso el comentador dela comedia del Dante en los sus preambulos."<sup>190</sup> The fact that he twice alludes to a commentary upon Dante would induce to a belief that he decided to write an exegesis of his own poem in imitation of such commentaries, but this is far from admitting that he was affected by Dante's own conceptions of allegory. Neither of these references, moreover, implies any interest in Dantesque allegory, for both refer only to matters of erudition, the first<sup>191</sup> to an explanation of tragedy, satire, and comedy, and the second<sup>192</sup> to an explanation of the use of laurel in poet's crowns.

In elucidating the classical personages suffering in Hell, as symbols of various sins, he resorts to the Renaissance allegorical standards mentioned in the Proemio of Santillana<sup>193</sup> and in the dedication

<sup>189</sup> The introduction of Juan de Mena's copy of Benvenuto da Imola was evidently divided into preambles. There is a reference to this in the Latin itself at the beginning of the comment on the *Inferno*: "His praeambulis pro evidientia praecursus."

<sup>190</sup> Ed. Warren, p. 13. The "por estenso" probably refers to Benvenuto's elaborate exegesis of the dream of Archias' mother.

<sup>191</sup> Second Preamble.

<sup>192</sup> Comment on copla XXXIII.

<sup>193</sup> Sec. XII.

at the beginning of the "Siervo libre de amor" of Juan Rodríguez del Padrón.<sup>194</sup> According to these mythology is understood as an alluring fiction, an attractive covering for plain, dull facts. Allegory is beginning to be no longer peopled with such abstract medieval personifications as Inconstancy, Avarice, and the like; but famous classical figures stand for the different qualities. Thus, for example, Jason is the typical inconstant lover: "Por Jason podemos entender a qualquiera que anda por la semblante manera, enganando el mundo con el ardor de la luxuria dando fe a muchas." Ixion is the avaricious man: "Por Exion podemos entender qualquier hombre cobdicioso que no cura de virtud poniendo su esperanza en los temporales y falleceres bienes, enamorandose de la vida actua que se entiende por Juno." By reason of this attitude towards allegory, like the majority of Spanish poets in the fifteenth century, Juan de Mena is to be thought of in conjunction with the Italian "trecentisti" rather than with Dante. The absurd Latin vocabulary and involutions of periods bring the *Calamicleos* even closer than the *Laberinto*<sup>195</sup> to the stylistic extravagances of Boccaccio. This very title is evidently imitated from such anomalous formations as Boccaccio's *Filocolo*: as de Mena himself avers in the first preamble, it is compounded of the Latin "calamitas" and the Greek κλέος.

### III. DEBATE DE LA RAZÓN CONTRA LA VOLUNTAD

The third and last extended allegorical composition of Juan de Mena, mentioned also in the *Epicedio* of Romera, the *Debate de la Razón contra la Voluntad*,<sup>196</sup> is worthy of consideration in that uniting the poet closely with former allegorical tradition in the peninsula it emphasizes the necessity of not considering him an isolated phenomenon, produced solely by Italian influences. That it should not be dismissed as an unimportant trifle, uncharacteristic of de

<sup>194</sup> *Obras de Juan Rodríguez de la Cámara, Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles*, Madrid, 1884, p. 84. These conceptions I shall discuss at length in my book.

<sup>195</sup> Menéndez y Pelayo (*Ant.* vol. V, p. clxv) even says that Latinisms are so exaggerated as to leave the description of the Muses the only respectable part of the composition.

<sup>196</sup> Modern reprint in *Cancionero de Gómez Manrique, Coll. de escrit. castell.*, Madrid, 1885, vol. I, pp. 242-278.

Mena's style, is shown by the fact that, left unfinished at the author's death, it was honored by three separate continuations at the hands of the chief literary lights of the day, Gómez Manrique, Pero Guillen, and Jerónimo de Artes. He beholds in a vision fair Reason and foul Desire, whose seven faces symbolize the deadly sins. Reason meets and vanquishes the arguments that each face advances in support of its claim to man's esteem. Juan de Mena's portion comes to an end in Reason's tirade against Wrath.

Puymaigre<sup>197</sup> mentions Fazio degli Uberti's series of sonnets on the Mortal Sins,<sup>198</sup> meaning to suggest perhaps that Juan de Mena imitated them in this poem. Such a relationship is more than doubtful. The chief similarity is that in both works the Sins are represented as speaking; but in the Italian they simply retail their disagreeable characteristics, whereas in the Spanish they defend themselves. Nor are they mentioned in the same order in both poems. There are two or three analogies in diction,—as of Avarice:

Io so' la magra lupa d'Avarizia,

where Juan de Mena uses the adjectives:

Sotil y magra fanbrienta,<sup>199</sup>

or of Luxury:

Io sono un fuoco acceso pien di furia,

where Juan de Mena speaks of her brow as

ynflamada como fuego;<sup>200</sup>

or of Sloth:

Discinta e scalza, ed ho la carne brulla;

where Juan de Mena says:

Soñoliento y desgreñada  
vi su cara postrimera  
nigligente mal granjera  
no bruñida ni afeytada.<sup>201</sup>

<sup>197</sup> *La Cour*, etc., vol. II, p. 76.

<sup>198</sup> *Rime di Cino da Pistoia e d'altri del secolo XIV*, Florence, 1862, pp. 308 ff.

<sup>199</sup> P. 249.

<sup>200</sup> P. 250.

<sup>201</sup> P. 251.

But these analogies are not close enough to postulate a relationship, and in any case the words are commonplaces in descriptions of the Vices. It would be interesting if it were possible to trace here an imitation of Fazio degli Uberti, for it would then become more likely that Juan de Mena depended upon the "Dittamondo" for the geographical passage in the *Laberinto*.

The only trace of Dante that approaches the possible is in Reason's denunciation of Avarice:

Cada poeta en su foja  
te dio forma de quien roba,  
uno d'arpia, otro de loba.<sup>202</sup>

There may be a reference here to the wolf of the first "Inferno." Of the several similes, such a one as that in which he compares gratitude to the returning of the ball in the game of "pelota"<sup>203</sup> may

"Quien bien juega la pelota  
jamás bote le embaraça,  
antes mejor la rechaça  
qu'el que juega gela bota:  
recibe d'aquesto nota  
si bienes has rescibido,  
ca por el desgradecido  
el grato a vezes escota.

reflect the homeliness of Dante's figures. The vices, however, Pride, Avarice, Lust, Wrath, Gluttony, Envy, and Sloth, are not in the order of the "Purgatorio," and the description of the carnal vices shows no reminiscence of the unclean apparition of Dante's dream in the nineteenth canto of that *Cantica*. Reason's answer<sup>204</sup> to the fourth cause that Pride alleges for her attitude, nobility of race, in that she does not deny the theory of aristocracy but leans upon the maxim "Noblesse oblige," has no relation to the third canzone of the *Convivio*, where neither riches nor race but virtue is considered the foundation of Gentilezza. The composition is rather to be classed within the same tradition as the category of sins in the *Alexandre*, the series of debates of Body and Soul, or particularly, the debates of just such personifications as Reason and Desire in the works of Ruy Paes de Ribera.

<sup>202</sup> P. 268.

<sup>203</sup> P. 268:

<sup>204</sup> Pp. 258-9.



Foulché-Delbosc has published from a manuscript of the fifteenth century in a private library, a *Razonamiento que faze Johan de Mena con la Muerte*, in which, after the fashion of the *Dance of Death*, the gruesome personification recounts to the poet her ruthless impartiality, and he answers with a pedantic list of the great ones who have been her victims.<sup>205</sup> He adduces Ovid and Dante as authorities that she has slain Hercules, but he must have read the statement in no work of Dante that the world has ever known. He is guilty here of a common sin of fifteenth century Spanish litterateurs, who like to strengthen their assertions by an appeal to Dante or any other great name of the past without regard to facts. Then, again, Dante formed such a tempting rhyme for *Ercoles el gigante*.<sup>206</sup>

In the *Desir que fizo Juan de Mena sobre la justicia e pleytos de la grand vanitat del mundo*, published by J. M. Octavio de Toledo,<sup>207</sup> such subjects as the uncertainty of Fortune or the corruption and negligence of ecclesiastical shepherds would have evoked reminiscences of Dante, if the Spanish poet were thoroughly saturated with the Divine Comedy.

#### IV. LYRICS

Juan de Mena's love verse, in the few respects in which it differs from the ordinary Galician type of his time, is modelled upon Petrarch's *Rime*.<sup>208</sup> It contains, to be sure, certain elements of the "dolce stil nuovo," but just as the Spaniards inclined rather to the appropriation of allegorical elements, as manipulated by the "trecentisti," so I should prefer to trace these details to Petrarch's adaptation of the "dolce stil nuovo." In the first place the general tone is more Petrarchian than Dantesque. Much of his verse savors of the effete and lachrymose complaints of the *Rime* rather than of

<sup>205</sup> *Rev. Hisp.*, IX, 253.

<sup>206</sup> Cf. Farinelli, *Dante in Ispagna*, p. 57, and *Note sulla fortuna del Petrarca in Ispagna*, *Gior. Stor.*, 1904, p. 328, n. 1. Farinelli even questions the attribution to Juan de Mena.

<sup>207</sup> *Revista de Arch., Bibl. y Mus.* (old series), VI, pp. 86 ff.

<sup>208</sup> Puymaigre (*La Cour*, etc., vol. II, pp. 55-68) and Menéndez y Pelayo (*Ant.*, vol. V, pp. clx ff.) are the chief exponents of a theory of Dantesque imitation in Juan de Mena's lyrics. Sanvisenti slights the subject absolutely. Farinelli (*Dante in Ispagna*, p. 64) doubts the Dantesque strain but adduces no evidence.

the robust sorrow of the "Vita Nuova." The *Claro Escuro*<sup>209</sup> is a series of stanzas of shorter lines in which every aspect of sentimental amorous despair has expression, alternated with stanzas of longer lines in which he parallels his condition to a host of classical examples, reminiscent perhaps of the unfortunates in the *Triumph of Love*.<sup>210</sup> The chief conceits, that his life is only death in life and that actual death is preferable, are Petrarchian platitudes.<sup>211</sup> The very title is derived from the sharp contrasts so common in the *Rime*. To show to what ludicrous extremes these paradoxes can attain in a Spanish Petrarchist as well as in the later Italians, I quote the first copla of shorter lines:

Quando ví morir mi vida  
y vida dar á mis males  
cuya vida es despedida  
de quien fué desconocida  
á mis penas desiguales:  
entónces bien me pensé  
pensé que mi pensamiento  
tanto fuerte,  
no tuuiera sobre qué,  
sobre qué darme tormento  
sobre muerte.

<sup>209</sup> *Canc. General*, no. 58.

<sup>210</sup> If we admit as authentic the alternating stanzas that were added in the edition of 1517 to No. 61 of the *Cancionero General*, we shall have another composition of exactly the same kind as the *Claro escuro*—a Petrarchian elegy with classical comparisons. That Virgil's Tartarus was always vivid in his mind is shown by his adaptation of one Latin line in a comparison of his own to the torments of the damned:

"Tántalo, Ticio, no son tan vexados  
allá en los abismos del brauo Pluton,  
rastrando sus carnes por IX collados  
lançados del cuello del gran Sisifon."

"nec non et Tityon, Terrae omniparentis alumnus,  
cernere erat, por tota novem cui iugera corpus  
porrigitur . . .  
quid memorem Lapithas, Ixiona Pirithoumque?"  
(*Aen.*, VI, 595 ff.)

<sup>211</sup> Cf. for example, ed. Carducci, for the former conceit, XXXVII, 1-4; XLIV, 12; XCVII, 10; for the latter, XXIII, 140; XXXVII

The next poem in the *Cancionero* of Hernando del Castillo is characterized by the same watery grief and the same artificialities of style.

The piece that follows in the same *Cancionero*, "En loor de una dama," has been the occasion for the assertion of Dantesque influence in Juan de Mena's lyrics. Certain ideas in this poem, though appearing in Dante's *Vita Nuova* and *Canzoniere* are to be found, also, as I have intimated, in Petrarch's *Rime*. The absence of imitation of Dante's lyrics in the rest of Spanish literature of this century and the general tone of straining after conceits incline me to a belief in the latter source. The opening statement that he might as well hope to number the sands as to seek to praise her fitly is paralleled in Petrarch's comparison to the counting of the stars or the compression of the ocean into a small glass.<sup>212</sup> The ladies who gaze upon her pray that they may be made such as she. I know of no exact analogy to this thought in either Italian poet; but the many instances in Petrarch where Laura is compared favorably with other women<sup>213</sup> are as close as Dante's sonnet in which Beatrice adds a new luster to those whom she accompanies.<sup>214</sup> With a more or less unconscious blasphemy that is so frequent in fifteenth century erotic verse,<sup>215</sup> the poet doubts whether God could create another like her. It is a common conception, of course, of Dante and Petrarch, as of all poets, that the loved one has not her peer, but the latter claims directly in two sonnets that Nature has eclipsed herself in Laura.<sup>216</sup> With the bathos of most Petrarchists, de Mena goes on to exaggerate the conceit into the statement that her father could not have begotten her without divine aid. The angels in heaven mark the realm and grieve that they are not worldlings in order that they may contemplate her loveliness. In the renowned canzone, "Donne, ch' avete intelletto d'amore," the angels observe Beatrice on earth and petition God for her presence; there is no exact parallel in Petrarch of the angels taking note of the lady upon

<sup>212</sup> CXXVII, 8s.

<sup>213</sup> XIII, 1-4; CCXVIII, 1-4; CCXXII, 5-8; CCXXV, 1-4; CCXXXVIII, 5-11; CCXLIX, 5-8.

<sup>214</sup> V. N., sonnet XVI.

<sup>215</sup> Cf. for extreme examples some lines of the Constable Don Alvaro de Luna, *Cancionero de Baena*, ed. of P. J. Pedal, pp. lxxxii and lxxxiv.

<sup>216</sup> CCXLVIII; CCCL.

earth, but besides the famous sonnet in which the angels and blessed rejoice in Laura's entrance into Heaven,<sup>217</sup> there are many passages in which she is distinctly desired above.<sup>218</sup> The only reason, therefore, for a belief in Dantesque derivation is the implication that the angels behold the lady upon earth—an accident which, in any case, is insufficient ground for a theory so widely at variance with the general literary trend of the peninsula and which cannot counterbalance the Petrarchian tone of the whole piece. It is to be observed, moreover, that in the Spanish the angels simply take note of the realm and that the conception is not much closer to Dante's statement that they behold this marvel of virtue than to Petrarch's that she is desired in heaven. It would not require too great an exertion of reason on de Mena's part to argue from the desire to the idea of their previous sight. With the natural tendency of Petrarch's disciples, he goes on to outdo his master in conceits. The angels vest themselves in mourning because they cannot behold the lady upon earth; the women who have died rejoice that they departed this life before having to experience rivalry with her; the men who have died, however holy, are discontented not to have seen her day. The Petrarchian derivation is confirmed by his direct citation of the poet's name in another poem,<sup>219</sup> whereas he nowhere alludes to Dante:

Quién sin vos no merescio  
de virtudes ser monarcha?  
Quanto bien dixo Petrarcha,  
por vos lo profetizó.

The only other poem in which the question of Dantesque influence could arise is a Petrarchian wail.<sup>220</sup> At the end Juan de Mena alludes to the motive of a pretended love for another woman. Such a fiction, to be sure, caused Beatrice to deny her salute, but inspired also Petrarch's famous canzone *S'il dissì mai*,<sup>221</sup> a composition

<sup>217</sup> CCCXLVI; cf. also CCCXLIV, 5-6; CCCXLVIII, 9-10.

<sup>218</sup> XLI, 14; CCXLVIII, 7; CCC, 5-6; CCCIX, 1-4; CCCXXX, 12; CCCXXXVII, 13-14.

<sup>219</sup> *Canc. Gen.*, No. 57.

<sup>220</sup> *Canc. Gen.*, No. 65 and *Cancionero de Lope de Stúfiga, Col. de libros españ. raros*, Madrid, 1872, p. 14. Puymaigre and Menéndez fail to point out the Dantesque analogies in this poem.

<sup>221</sup> CCVI.

which, exaggerating Petrarch's ordinary artificiality of style,<sup>222</sup> would be likely to attract one of his disciples. The circumstance that sometimes he forgets himself so far as to speak the real lady's name when he is talking of the other, is too remote from Dante's ejaculation of the name of Beatrice in his sickness to imply a relation; in the *Vita Nuova* the bystanders do not understand the syllables muffled by sobs, in the Spanish they catch the name and are offended.

The rest of his lyric verse is in the Galician strain accentuated here and there by Petrarch's example. He cries out again for death.<sup>223</sup> We come frequently upon such paradoxes as this:

Vuestro gesto incontinente  
ante mis ojos se para,  
como la mañana clara  
en forma resplandeciente,  
mas mi vida no repara:  
el qual por ymaginacion  
figura mi entendimiento,  
y fallo vuestra facion  
tan llena de perficion,  
que lloro mi nascimiento;<sup>224</sup>

or such conceits as this:

en el mi terrible planto  
solo yo lloro dos vidas:  
la mia, porque s'alabe,  
pues que muere por amar;  
la vuestra porque no sabe  
de la bondad que le cabe  
ni se quiere aprouechar.<sup>225</sup>

<sup>222</sup> Cf. the picturesque comment of Alessandro Tassoni, ed. of L. A. Muratori, Venice, 1727, p. 327:

"Questa Canzone, e l'altra più sopra,—sono come due Cortigiane, alle quali il soverchio liscio abbia fatto cadere i capegli, e marcirsi i denti: perciocchè la troppa squisitezza delle rime ha loro storpiati i concetti"; also ed. Carducci, p. 294, concluding comment.

<sup>223</sup> *Canc. Gen.*, No. 64.

<sup>224</sup> *Canc. Gen.*, No. 67.

<sup>225</sup> *Canc. Gen.*, No. 62; *Canc. Stañ.*, p. 9.

## V. CONCLUSIONS

In Juan de Mena Dante's fate in Spain was put to the crucial test. Even though the Dantesque influence in Imperial and in Santillana is negligible, if Juan de Mena has chosen to initiate a thorough-going imitation of the *Divine Comedy* or of the lyrics, such was his poetic talent and, what is rarer, the appreciation of that talent by his contemporaries, that he might still have saved the day for the Dantesque influence; and since he was the only poet who survived the oblivion into which the full Spanish Renaissance scornfully plunged the fifteenth century, he might have perpetuated the imitation of the *Divine Comedy* in his country. But the Dantesque elements are far slighter in him than in the Marquis. We have been able to discover in Juan de Mena no indubitable use of the Italian poet and only a few instances approaching probability,—these all of architectonic detail and in no way determining the general structure. The only fact of which we are certain is that he knew Benvenuto's commentary. He imposes the stamp of his literary authority and of his prestige as royal secretary upon the tradition of French and later Italian borrowing. The influence of the *Divine Comedy* reached its height in Santillana, if so slight a ripple as the Dantesque strain in Castile can be properly said to have that dimension. Juan de Mena, instead of strengthening the feeble and isolated imitation of Dante by the Marquis, diminishes the tendency. He diverts what little current there had been towards Dantesque imitation in another direction and establishes a vigorous counter precedent. Since he is succeeded by no great poetic personality who, working chiefly in the allegorical manner, might turn to Dantesque imitation, with the possible exception of Juan de Padilla, who may be considered as a separate phenomenon, his example is so decisive that any essential influence of the Italian poet in the same or following literary generation would be highly improbable. Forewarnings of the Spanish Renaissance were making so imperative an appeal that a poet like Juan de Mena, who was so thoroughly a man of his own country and his own times, could not but devote himself rather to the naturalization in Castile of classical literature. Thence he derives his highly imaginative language, with here and there perhaps a psychological simile affected by Dante. It is by

reason of their humanism that he appreciates more the later Italians, Petrarch and Boccaccio, and follows Santillana's example in turning rather to them for inspiration. Apart from exotic influences, his own contributions to the literary heritage of Spain are the establishment of a precedent for lengthy compositions in the allegorical manner and the elaboration of the form of the Coronation.

C. R. Post.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.



AUTO DE LA QUINTA ANGUSTIA QUE NUESTRA  
SEÑORA PASSO AL PIE DE LA CRUZ

THE *auto* which is here published is found in six leaves in quarto, printed in double columns in Gothic type and published at Burgos in 1552. It is bound with a copy of the *Vergel de nuestra Señora* by Juan Molina, published at Seville in the year 1542, which is preserved at the British Museum. The *Vergel de nuestra señora* is a Castilian translation of the *Verger de la Verge Maria*, a Valencian work by Miquel Pérez, published at Valencia in 1494. Gayangos<sup>1</sup> first mentioned this *auto* and Salvá<sup>2</sup> gave a few extracts from it. Above the title there is a wood-cut representing the crucifixion of Jesus. On the reverse of the sixth leaf there are three vignettes representing the Virgin at the foot of the cross, the circumcision of Christ and the Crucifixion. The seventh leaf contains a cut representing the Last Supper. Below this a *romance muy devoto en contemplacion de la Passion de nuestro Redemptor y Salvador Jesu Christo*, and on the second column of the eighth leaf there is a *Cancion que dize*: "si me adormiere madre." There is no clue to determine the authorship or place of representation.

The *auto* is chiefly interesting because of its early date and has little literary merit, but since no comprehensive study can be made of the origins of the Spanish drama until all of the early texts are accessible, the republication of this very rare play has a certain value.<sup>3</sup> I have scrupulously followed the original text, but have printed abbreviations in full, have used punctuation marks to facilitate the reading and have accented homonyms.

J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

<sup>1</sup> Ticknor, *Historia de la literatura española*, vol. III, p. 518.

<sup>2</sup> *Catálogo*, vol. I, pp. 364-5.

<sup>3</sup> M. Léo Rouanet in his *Colección de autos, farsas y coloquios del siglo XVI*, vol. III, pp. 350-358, gives a list of plays in Spain and elsewhere which treat the subject of the Descent from the Cross.

AUTO AGORA NUEUAMENTE HECHO SOBRE LA QUINTA ANGUSTIA QUE  
NUESTRA SEÑORA PASSÓ AL PIE DE LA CRUZ MUY DEUOTO Y CON-  
TEMPLATIUO: EN EL QUAL SE INTRODUCEN LAS PERSONAS  
SIGUIENTES. NUESTRA SEÑORA/SANT JUAN/Y LAS  
TRES MARIAS. JOSEPH ABARIMATIA/NICODEMUS/  
PYLATO/PAGE/CENTURIO.

M. D. L. II

(*Entra Josepho Abarimatia y dise*)

*Joseph.* O Dios biuo, omnipotente,  
quan profundo es tu saber,  
que un hombre tan excelente  
muriesse tan cruelmente,  
dónde pudo proceder? 5  
Sólo en pensallo de oyr,  
no siento quien no se assombre:  
determino yrle a pedir  
a Pylato y aborrrir  
la vida por tan buen hombre. 10

Bien sé que me han de tratar  
como mortal enemigo  
Cayn/Jacob/y Abiathar,  
y por esto han de tomar  
muy cruel saña conmigo; 15  
mas Dios sabe mi intencion,  
que me mueuo con buen zelo:  
él juzgue mi coraçon,  
y él me dara el galardón,  
como yo espero, en el Cielo. 20

*Page.* Di, page, y podre hablar  
al señor Poncio y Pylato?  
Sí, señor, bien puede entrar,  
que agora se fue assentar<sup>a</sup>  
en su tribunal y trato. 25

*Joseph.* Muy magnifico Pretor,  
yo, como antiguo criado,  
tanto vuestro seruidor,

<sup>a</sup> assentar = á assentar.

	hos pido me hagas, señor, merced del Crucificado.	30
	Basta su muerte abiltada, y no duerma en aquel palo una pascua tan honrrada al sol, al ayre y elada, como si fuera algun malo.	35
<i>Pylato.</i>	Ha acabado de espirar? Han sabido si ya es muerto? Haganme luego llamar de quien me pueda informar: Centurio lo sabra cierto.	40
<i>Page.</i>	Pylato, señor.	
<i>Pylato.</i>	Llama aca a Centurio; corre, ve.	
<i>Page.</i>	Centurio, señor, veni, que Pylato hos llama alli.	
<i>Centurio.</i>	Qué manda vuestra merce?	45
<i>Pylato.</i>	Dezi, Centurio, qué hezistes en campo de Calauernas? Han espirado, si vistes, los cuerpos de aquellos tristes? Quebrantastesles las piernas?	50
<i>Centurio.</i>	Señor, sí; al Jesu no, que a los otros, sí, quebraron, que aquél mas presto espiró: como más penas passó, muy más presto lo acabaron. Terribles exclamaciones hizo a Dios, como su padre: rogaua por los sayones; más habló con los ladrones que no con su propia madre.	55 60
	Dixole, <i>memento mei</i> , uno dellos demprouiso, en tus manos, señor Rey, y él, como hadador de ley, le prometio el Parayso.	65
<i>Pylato.</i>	El tormento yo hoy <sup>s</sup>	
	<sup>s</sup> hoy for oi.	

	de piedras que se quebraron, diz que dixo: <i>Hely, Hely,</i> <i>lamazabathani,</i> y que otra vez le abreu(i)aron.	70
Centurio.	Sí, que pidio a beuer, mas era hyel, no lo quiso, y con gran dolor de ver dixo a la madre: muger, por un moço ves tu hijo. Quando tal le oyo hablar la madre, alli se alteró y empeçara* (h)a l <sup>a</sup> l <sup>a</sup> entar, y tanto se dio a llorar quel coraçon me quebró.	75  80
	Aconsolauanla alli muchas de su compañía, y ella dixoles assi: amigas, dexadme a mí llorar que oy es mi dia. No pasó largo trecho que con la lança enristrada, Longinos, no satisfecho por aquel costado derecho dio a Jesu una lançada.	85  90
	Por el esta <sup>7</sup> muy corriente baxó su sangre tan lista, con la qual deuotamente lauó sus ojos y fruenta <sup>8</sup> y cobró luego la vista. La tierra toda tembló desde Oriente a Poniente: el cielo se escurescio; ciertamente pienso yo quel justo murio inocente.	95  100
Pylato.	Ser justo bien lo senti	

\* Read *empeçaua* for *empeçara*.<sup>7</sup> For *esta* read *asta*.<sup>8</sup> For the form *fruenta*, see Menéndez Pidal, *Manual elemental de gramática histórica española*, p. 33.

- y a Herodes lo embié,  
y él tornandomelo a mí,  
quanto pude me exemi  
y por esso le açoté (yo). 105  
Mi muger bien lo dezia ;  
bien me lo conocia yo,  
señor Abarimathia,  
fue muy grande la porfia  
del pueblo que me siguio. 110
- Joseph.* Señor, si lo conocieras  
el mejor hombre del mundo,  
nunca tal sentencia dieras,  
si por matallo supieras  
ser emperador segundo. 115  
Qué sancta conuersacion !  
Qué doctrina tan crescida !  
Qué dulce predicacion !  
y al cabo por galardón,  
quitalle, señor, la vida ! 120
- Si mandas que le quitemos,  
por que allí no se detenga,  
yremos yo y Nicodemus,  
luego le sepultaremos  
antes que la pascua venga. 125
- Pylato.* Justo desseo teneys :  
hagase lo que mandays ;  
yo hos le doy que le quiteys  
y lleueys y sepultheys  
donde vos mejor veays. 130
- Joseph.* Agora, señor, podemos  
yr, que traygo de Pilato  
licencia que descolguemos  
a Jesu y le sepultemos.  
Quiso en esto serme grato, 135  
mostró ser arrepentido  
por auelle condenado ;  
tiene temor pues\* vngido

\* Read *ques* instead of *pues*.

- que Centurio es ya venido  
y ha marauillas contado. 140
- Dixo vna boz que dio  
estraña sobre natura,  
en el punto que espiró.
- Nicodemus.* Pues que el velo se rompio,  
más era que criatura. 145
- Joseph.* Como hora le fue a pedir,  
si aquesta mañana fuera  
a demandalle o salir  
por él, con él a morir,  
por ventura no muriera. 150
- Nicodemus.* Ya no ay remedio en lo hecho,  
por demas es intentallo,  
pues no nos trae prouecho,  
sino vamos por un lecho  
en que podamos lleuallo. 155.
- Joseph.* Sauana basta que lleuo.
- Nicodemus.* Yo vnguento en cantidad.
- Joseph.* Ha sepultallo me mueuo  
en vn monumento nueuo,  
porque dél he piedad. 160
- Muy gran dolor he tenido  
de aquella triste señora,  
porque cierto aura sentido  
quanto el hijo ha padescido  
y sentillo ha más agora. 165
- Nicodemus.* Veysla alli bien traspassada,  
fuentes tiene hechos los ojos,  
antes que hagamos nada,  
aquella carne sagrada  
adoremos de hinojos. 170
- (*Aqui habla sant Juan a Nuestra Señora.*)
- Juan.* O la más de las mugeres  
hermosa, mira que soy  
ya tu hijo y tú que eres  
mi madre, mientras biuiere  
tenme por tal desde oy. 175

*Maria.* Ay Juan y quan mal trocado  
 he yo mi hijo por vos,  
 el señor por el criado,  
 el amor por el amado,  
 el hombre por hombre y Dios! 180

*Juan.* Qual está el enamorado,  
 virgen hija de Sion,  
 el más blanco y colorado,  
 el más leproso tornado  
 de quantos fueron ni son. 185  
 O señor, quién te llagó  
 sin que tú lo meresciste?  
 Pueblo que assi te trató,  
 por qué dessagradescio  
 quantos bienes le heziste? 190

*(Aqui canta la Magdalena.)*

*Ay dolor, dueñas, dolor,  
 por mi maestro y señor!*

Alto rey, cómo espiraste  
 que no te puedo valer?  
 Ay! que muero de te ver, 195  
 quan mal llagado quedaste!  
 Tus dolores fenescieron  
 y los mios començaron,  
 y los ojos que te vieron  
 llorauan, pues que perdieron 200  
 quantos bienes dessearon.

*Juan.* Gente nueva viene aca,  
 señora, por el camino.  
 O gran Dios, no basta ya?  
 Harto atormentado está 205  
 el cuerpo del Rey diuino.  
 Gente parece amorosa,  
 esfuerçate, virgen madre,  
 quíça verna otra cosa,  
 quen hora tan tenebrosa 210  
 no te oluidará Dios padre.



(Adoracion.)

- |                   |   |                |
|-------------------|---|----------------|
| <i>Joseph.</i>    | O summo Rey singular,<br>carne formada en el suelo,<br>dame licencia tocar<br>a tu cuerpo y consolar<br>a tu madre sin consuelo.  | 215            |
| <i>Nicodemus.</i> | O señora y quanto cresce<br>el dolor.que vos esfuerça,<br>por cierto que me paresce<br>que vuestra merced fallece<br>si el alto Rey no da fuerça.   | 220            |
| <i>Juan.</i>      | Plega a él que la consuele,<br>que yo no puedo ni animo.  |                |
| <i>Joseph.</i>    | Señora, no se recele<br>de nosotros, a quien duele<br>vuestro mal como a este primo;<br>que somos ambos a dos<br>discipulos del maestro,<br>vuestro hijo y nuestro Dios,<br>por amor dél y de vos,<br>prestos al seruicio vuestro.  | 225<br><br>230 |
| <i>Maria.</i>     | Señores, yo sola estoy,<br>todos me desampararon.<br>la más de las tristes soy<br>que yo sola lloro oy<br>el bien que todos gozaron.  | 235            |
| <i>Nicodemus.</i> | No dignos ser llamados<br>sus discipulos por nombre,<br>quitaremos los llagados<br>pies y manos enclauados<br>deste nuestro Dios y hombre;<br><br>quel espiritu nos guya<br>de Dios con su mano diestra,<br>él nos llama y nos embia;<br>queda pues, señora mia,<br>cobrar la licencia vuestra. | 240<br><br>245 |
| <i>Maria.</i>     | Señores, Dios que alumbró<br>vuestros justos coraçones<br>hos pague, pues veys que yo   |                |

- tan desamparada estó  
de todas consolaciones. 250
- Hijo mio, que es de ti,  
consolador de mis penas?  
quel dolor que no senti  
quando, entrañas, hos pari, 255  
pago aqui con las setenas.
- Juan.* Desuiemonos a vn lado,  
señora, y desclauaran  
este cuerpo lastimado.
- Maria.* Ya las fuerças m'an dexado 260  
y alçarme no puedo, Juan.
- Joseph.* Hea, señor Nicodemus,  
porque en esto sin se ordene,  
razon es que nos quitemos  
estas ropas que trahemos 265  
y hagamos lo que conuiene.  
Echad aca la escalera.
- Nicodemus.* Está bien.
- Joseph.* Si bien está,  
poned essotra siquiera,  
porque de aquesta manera, 270  
mejor se descendira.
- (Adoracion.)
- O cuerpo tan glorioso,  
qué manos podran tocarte?  
Dame poder poderoso,  
porque me siento medroso, 275  
para yo desenclauarte.
- Nicodemus.* Esfuerça mi coraçon  
tu angelica figura,  
y danos más contricion  
para que con deuocion 280  
te demos la sepultura.
- Joseph.* Tomemos los encensarios  
y hara,<sup>10</sup> señor, como hago.  
O Judios, falsos, varios,
- <sup>10</sup>Read y haga, señor.

- cómo podistes, nefarios,  
hazer en Dios tal estrago?  
Señor, enciense (h)a este lado.  
Que haze? Guarde no cayga!  
*Nicodemus.* Señor, sientome turbado,  
y en ver mi Dios tan llagado,  
mi coraçon se desmaya. 285
- (*Aquí se desmaya Nicodemus.*)
- Joseph.* Ha, Nicodemus señor!  
Señor, mire que le digo!  
O mi Dios y redemptor,  
selde vos consolador! 290
- Nicodemus.* Qué, señor? Habla conmigo? -  
*Joseph.* Señor, esfuerce ya  
pues en esfuerço le alabo.  
Amigos, tomad alla,  
dadme essa touaja aca;  
tened, señor, desse cabo. 295
- O fuente manantial  
de siete arroyos sangrientos,  
puerta abierta celestial  
do mana el rio caudal 305  
de los sanctos sacramentos!  
O mano diestra sagrada  
que al mundo tienes en peso,  
hazme ser de la manada  
que tienes predestinada, 310  
de aquesta que adoro y beso.
- Nicodemus.* O sacra mano siniestra  
que de nada nos formaste  
y con dolorosa muestra  
por el yerro y culpa nuestra 315  
tantos tormentos passaste!
- Joseph.* O pueblo falso cruel!  
O rostro tan rub(r)icundo!  
O gran Dios Hemanuel!  
harto de vinagre y hiel 320  
para rescate del mundo.

- Ciñamosla por aqui  
la touaja, estara bien.
- Nicodemus.* Sus, dame esse cabo a mí  
y aquesotro rescebi,  
y apretada ten, conten. 325
- Joseph.* Bien apretado está, sus!  
estos dos cabos echemos  
por los braços de la cruz,  
y sosternan nuestra luz  
al tiempo que desclauemos. 330
- Juan.* Passo! No llegueys al gesto  
con la escalera tan junta.
- Joseph.* Sancto Dios, como está puesto  
sin tenazas, saldra presto,  
dandole al clauo en la punta. 335
- Nicodemus.* Tened los pies al madero,  
dadme essa tenaza aca.
- Joseph.* Herid por alla primero  
que hara mayor agujero  
en la carne y no saldra. 340
- Nicodemus.* Tened! Quedo! ya es fuera.
- Joseph.* Ay Dios! que clauo tan grueso!  
Quién te vera que no muera!
- Nicodemus.* Esta abertura tan fiera  
causó ser cabe el huesso.  
Tened y desclauare  
esta mano. Ya hecho es.  
Descienda y descendire  
abaxo y quitemosle  
el clauo qu'está en los pies. 350
- O sagrados pies benditos,  
con duro clauo clauados,  
por mano destos malditos  
manos y pies tan benditos,  
quan mal que fuystes pagados! 355
- Maria.* Echamelo aqui, señores,  
echaldo aqui en mi[s]regaços.  
Hijo mio, o qué dolores!

- Abraçadme, mis amores,  
con vuestros llagados braços. 360
- Simeon, bien me asomaste  
quando en el templo me viste,  
con gemidos lamentaste,  
con dolor contrapuntaste 365  
diziendome: madre triste.  
Por mí llora Hieremias,  
mixtica Hierusalem.  
O quantos passays la vida,  
mirad si [a] la pena mia 370  
ay dolor que yguale aqui!
- Juan.* Señora, consiente ya  
lleuallo que se va el dia,  
y es tarde y se estoruara.
- Maria.* La cabeça me dexá: 375  
tomad vos los pies, Maria;  
yo no quisiera dexallo,  
mas quiero lo que es razon  
ques razon de sepultallo.  
Quíça querran estoruallo, 380  
si se da mas dilacion.
- Maria.* O sagrados pies contentos,  
que hos laué con mucho amor  
quando hos hallé poluorientos,  
y ahora hos lauo sangrientos 385  
de los clauos con dolor.  
Son estos que tengo aqui,  
en estos mi abrigo y padre,  
son aquestos los que vngi,  
estos son, triste de mí! 390  
ansias de la vuestra madre.

(Aqui lo lleuan al sepulchro cantando aquel verso que dise. "In exitu  
Israel de Egypto domus Jacob de populo")

- Juan.* Dios te salue, sepultura  
del immenso Rey vngido!  
Dios te salue, cobertura,

<sup>11</sup> This refers to Mary, the sister of Lazarus.

- sagrario y sacra clausura 395  
 del mejor cuerpo que ha sido!  
 Dios te salue, consagrada  
 carne, virgen, escogida,  
 de madre virgen tomada,  
 de virgen acompañada 400  
 y en virgen piedra metida!
- Nicodemus.* O sacro cuerpo defuncto,  
 gloria dessotros defunctos,  
 de cuyo valor un punto  
 vale más él solo junto 405  
 que todos los otros juntos!  
 Summo bien, summa clemencia,  
 solo, señor, te dexamos,  
 pero con gran reuerencia  
 te demandamos licencia 410  
 para que nos despidamos.
- Maria.* Ay hijo, y quan lastimada  
 va vuestra carne a la fuessa!  
 cómo quereys, desdichada,  
 que buelua a mi posada? 415  
 yo hos dexé solo en la fuessa?  
 O solo en sangre teñido,  
 verbo engendrado del Padre,  
 ecclypsado y denegrado,  
 a todos amanescido, 420  
 sólo oscuro a vuestra madre.
- Dexame llegar a ver  
 essa angelica figura  
 do le fuystes a meter,  
 que sepultays mi plazer 425  
 con él en la sepultura.
- Magdalena.* O mi maestro y señor,  
 todo mi bien y consuelo,  
 dónde está tu resplendor?  
 Quién quitó vuestro color, 430  
 que era hermosura del cielo?

- Juan.* Vos, señor, soys adorado  
sobre todos los lenguages!  
Quién dio poder tan sobrado  
a este pueblo maluado 435  
para hazer en vos vitrages?
- Joseph.* Mandad que vamos ques hora,  
de todo plazer vazios,  
a la ciudad peccadora,  
porque se allega, señora, 440  
la pascua de los judios.
- Porque esta carne diuina  
antes absuelue peccados  
que no [a] peccados inclina,  
no a los limpios contamina, 445  
mas limpia contaminados;  
y segun la gente ésta,  
estando agora indignada,  
podran ponernos requesta  
que quebrantamos la fiesta 450  
de todos solemnizada.
- Pero pues, señora, vistes  
vn tan lloroso letijo,  
oluidáos que le paristes,  
no hos acordeys que tuuistes 455  
un tan buen hombre por hijo.
- Nicodemus.* Por cierto, tanto nos duele  
vuestra angustia, vuestro duelo,  
quanta pena doler suele,  
no ay, virgen, quien hos consuele, 460  
[aun] que no falta consuelo.
- Maria.* Dexadme, amigos, morir  
do está defuncta mi vida.  
Dónde me mandays partir?  
No me podre despedir 465  
sin que el alma se despida.
- Juan.* Justo es, señora, que vamos  
a nuestro triste aposento,



- y al lugar donde cenamos,  
ya que al Salvador dexamos 470  
en su postrer mouimiento.
- Maria.* Pues no es mi poderio,  
yre con ansias estrañas;  
de vos, hijo, me desuio,  
quedáos a Dios, hijo mio! 475  
Quedáos a Dios, mis entrañas!  
O luz al mundo venida!  
O hijo mio y de Dios!  
O vida para mi vida!  
Quan amarga despedida, 480  
yo me despido de vos!
- Joseph.* Pues queda nuestra alegría  
sola y en la sepultura,  
tornemos, señora mia,  
vuestras ropas este dia 485  
en xerga y en amargura;  
que en la ciudad pecadora  
llora gran parte de gente,  
y diran viendo[o]s agora:  
Catad aqui, esta señora 490  
fue madre del inocente.
- Mitigad esos suspiros  
y esse dolor absoluto,  
tened por bien de cobriros  
tocas largas y vestiros 495  
aqueste manto de luto.
- Maria.* Yo huelgo que ansina sea  
como muger desdichada,  
y que la gente me vea  
vestida desta librea, 500  
con las tristes reputada.
- Ay triste, cómo no muero  
con estas ansias estrañas!  
Qué ropas saco y espero  
oy por pascua del cordero, 505

*Joseph.* salido de mis entrañas?  
Quered, señora, esforçar  
la mucha angustia passada,  
procurad de hos consolar  
y seruiros de yr a posar  
a nuestra pobre posada. 510

(*Aqui habla nuestra Señora muy fatigada*)

Dexadme agora finir  
con mi triste vestidura.  
Dexadme agora acabar  
pues me mandastes dexar  
mi hijo en la sepultura. 515

*Nicodemus.* Señor Abarimathia,  
si a vuestra merced paresce,  
lleuemos en compañía  
a la señora Maria,  
que fuerça se nos offresce. 520

Del braço la[a]compañemos  
que segun va de angustiada,  
yo pienso que no podremos  
lleualla ni allegaremos  
hoy con ella a su posada. 525

*Joseph.* Ya estamos en el lugar  
do nuestra victoria cierta,  
ya tornamos a Caluar  
do mi Dios quiso espirar  
por dexar la muerte muerta; 530

do fue nuestra saluacion,  
do se aclaró nuestra luz,  
por donde es justa razon  
que hagamos adoracion  
a este arbol de la cruz. 535

*Maria.* Adorote, buen gouierno,  
de más precio que esmeraldas,  
llaue que cerró el infierno  
do mi hijo, Dios eterno  
quiso tender sus espaldas. 540

*Nicodemus.* Saluete Dios, instrumento  
con ques la muerte vencida!

	Saluete Dios, aposento! Saluete Dios, vencimiento y origen de nuestra vida! Cambio donde fue pagado el precio grande sin fuero, con que se paga el peccado por do quedó libertado lo de aquel padre primero.	545
<i>Juan.</i>	Dios te salue, cruz preciosa, vadera de los humanos! Dios te salue, gloriosa, armas de vida gozosa, remedio de los Christianos, fuente donde fue manada la fuerça de aquel licor daquella carne sagrada, percha do estuuu colgada la joya ques sin valor.	555  560
<i>Joseph.</i>	Dios te salue, soberano arbol de fructo precioso, contra aquel arbol profano donde tendida <sup>12</sup> la mano el primer Adan lloroso. Lugar de trato y medida, do se hizo el almoneda, do fue la muerte vencida, do se compró nuestra vida, do fue la sangre moneda.	565  570
<i>Magdalen.</i>	Saluete Dios, o madero, altar sin otro segundo, donde se offrescio el Cordero, sacrificio verdadero para remedio del mundo!	575
<i>Joseph.</i>	Señores, mucho tardamos en yr a nuestra possada, llorando el tiempo passamos, y esta señora lleuamos muy llorosa y angustiada.	580

<sup>12</sup> Read *tendía*.

	Que despues de auer perdido ella y las sanctas Marias su amor, amparo y querido, están sin auer comido	585
<i>Juan.</i>	casi cerca aura tres dias. Señores, en mucho grado hos tenga el eterno Padre y el Hijo crucificado, el abrigo que aueys dado	590
	a su cuerpo y a su madre.	
<i>Joseph.</i>	Primo del Rey excellente, consolad a essa señora, seruilda muy humilmente quen tener su Hijo ausente,	595
	sentira más cada hora. Mira qué cargo hos quedó y quien es la encomendada, y quien hos la encomendó, y acordáos de mí que só	600
	vno de vuestra manada.	

*Laus deo.*

ROMANCE MUY DEUOTO EN CONTEMPLACION DE LA PASSION DE NUESTRO  
REDEMPTOR Y SALUADOR JESU CHRISTO

Por los campos de tristura  
y veredas de pesar,  
cosa de gran amargura  
y triste de recontar,  
lleuauan al Rey de gloria  
que era dolor de mirar.  
Los braços lleua cansados,  
el cuerpo por descansar,  
la cruz lleuaua en los hombros  
por más tormento le dar,  
cayendo de passo en passo  
que no la puede lleuar.  
Todo sangriento y plagado  
no tiene sano lugar,  
de los pies a la cabeça

no se puede comparar.  
De todos desamparado  
por a todos amparar,  
cargado de nuestros males  
por la vida nos ganar.  
La culpa del primer padre,  
él la tiene de pagar,  
el Cordero sin manzilla  
lleuan a crucificar.  
allegados son al monte  
que por el s'a de nombrar  
el tan bienaventurado,  
quen el mundo no ay su par.  
Los verdugos carniceros  
ya lo quieren desnudar;  
al Señor de todo el mundo  
lo deueys de contemplar  
en la cruz de clauo en clauo  
si lo quereys bien gustar.  
En alto ya leuantado  
por a todos leuantar,  
mira y de quantos le miran,  
no halla con quien hablar,  
si no fue su triste madre  
que no la <sup>12</sup> sabe dexar.  
Con ansias muy más mortales  
solo pone a remirar,  
las entrañas traspassadas  
se le quieren arrincar.  
Con palabras lastimeras  
se comiençan de hablar:  
O Hijo de Dios eterno,  
quién vos ossara mirar?  
Gloria de todos los sanctos,  
quién hos pudo tal parar?  
No hos conozco, hijo mio,  
no hos puedo determinar,  
vuestro rostro tan trocado,  
quién lo podra figurar  
con aquel que ser solia  
hermoso solo sin par?

<sup>12</sup>For *la* read *lo*.

Esse cuerpo glorioso  
que hos plugo de mí tomar,  
de leproso es tornado,  
no solia tal estar,  
escuro, disfigurado,  
sangriento de mar a mar.  
O hijo, por qué quesistes  
vuestra sangre derramar,  
pues la más chiquita gota  
nos pudiera rescatar?  
Con açotes de amargura  
vuestra carne señalar,  
y con clauos de dolor  
pies y manos horadar;  
con guirnalda lastimera  
hos quesistes coronar.  
De los pies a la cabeça  
no se halla en vos lugar  
que no esté tan mal tratado  
que no puede más estar.  
El costado está rompido,  
porque esten de par en par  
abiertas en Parayso  
las puertas para gozar.  
En este mar de congoxas,  
vierades la madre estar,  
con la sancta compañía  
que no la quiso dexar.  
Do quisiera si pudiera  
a su Hijo acompañar,  
muriendo junto con él,  
pues sin él no auia lugar  
de poder alli biuir  
sin mayor muerte passar.

*Deo gracias.*

UNA CANCION QUE DIZE "SI ME ADORMIERE, MADRE"

Si me adormiere, madre,  
no me recordedes vos  
que si duermo quanto hombre,  
siempre velo quanto a Dios.

O madre mia y mi luz,  
virgen libre de embaraços,  
de los braços de la cruz  
me pornan en vuestros braços.  
Mi cuerpo hecho pedaços,  
*no lo recordedes vos,*  
*que si duermo quanto hombre,*  
*siempre velo quanto a Dios.*  
Dos dolores y las penas  
que en el parto no tuuistes,  
aqui con lagrimas tristes  
pagareys con las setenas.  
Quando se rompen mis venas,  
*no me recordedes vos,*  
*que si duermo quanto hombre,*  
*siempre velo quanto a Dios.*

*Laus deo.*

Fue impressa la presente obra en la muy noble y mas leal Ciudad  
de Burgos: en casa de Juan de Juan.



## MISCELLANEOUS

### DANTE'S VERSIFICATION

FEDERICO GARLANDA, in his *Il Verso di Dante* (Rome, 1907), raises three questions: (1) Did Dante use alliteration? (2) Did he use symphonies (*sinfonie*) of vowels; and (3) is the regular alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables, with the occasional substitution of a "trochaic" measure for an "iambic" to break the monotony, the norm in Dante's verse?

The examples of alliteration, especially of the initial consonants of the first and last stressed syllables of a line, are interesting, as in

Nel vostro mondo giù si veste e vela.  
Mi pinse con la forza del suo peso.  
Vedi la bestia, per cui io mi volsi.

But, although he avers that he has collected hundreds of examples, I am not quite sure that he proves his point, viz., that alliteration was a part of Dante's regular practice in writing verse. Some of the examples given are certainly not convincing, as:

Non donna di provincie, ma bordello.  
Se subito la nuvola scoscende.

In such a line as

Graffia gli spirti, gli scuola, ed isquatra,

Dante probably felt that the alliteration added to the *force* of the line, but not to its music.

By *sinfonie* Garlanda means the assonance of stressed vowels: (1) in the first and last words of a line, as in:

Fama di loro il mondo esser non lassa.  
Amor condusse noi ad una morte;

or (2) in the final words of each phrase, or measure, of a line (here

I would suggest an echo of the assonance of heroic Romance verse), as in:

Guardai in alto, e vidi le sue spalle.

Si volge all' acqua perigliosa e guata.

Garlanda gives over 400 examples of this assonance from the *Inferno*. There seems to be no question that Dante often used it consciously; but I doubt that he deliberately sought it to heighten the music of his verses.

Lastly, Garlanda gives an affirmative answer to the third question, which may, or may not, be correct; but when he states that the troches (*sic*) occur in the first or fourth position, and only there, he is most certainly in error. The "troche" (pardon the expression) at the beginning of the line is common, of course; thus:

Siède—la ter-ra do-ve na-ta fui.

Óra è—diser-ta co-me co-sa vie-ta.

But when he treats of "troches" in the "fourth position," and divides lines as follows, his method of analysis is wrong:

Ripre—se via—per la—piaggia—diser-ta.

Some other examples of this arrangement given by Garlanda are:

Difeso intorno d'un bél fumaticello.

Giugnemmo in prato di frésca verdura.

These lines he does not divide; but he would doubtless arrange the syllables in groups of two as above.

The question whether normal Italian verse has, or ever had, a regular binary movement, with only an occasional substitution of a "troche" for an "iambe," or vice-versa, is perplexing. D'Ovidio (*Versificazione italiana e Arte poetica*, 1910, p. 288) says no: Garlanda says yes; and when doctors disagree, how can the truth be known? This raises the whole question whether the binary movement is normal in Romance verse in general. Among others, Paris (*Romania*, XIII, p. 625) speaks of the "mouvement iambique" of French verse. Now, of all the Romance languages, French, by reason of the loss of most unstressed syllables, is the least adapted to the binary movement; while Tuscan and Castilian, with their

greater number of unstressed syllables, are the most so. Rajna (*Le origine dell' epopea francese*, Florence, 1884, p. 522) says: "il piede binario è il più solito, o, in altri termini, l'alternazione di un forte e di un debole è la disposizione musicalmente fondamentale."

In the Romance languages, but especially in those of the Spanish and Italian peninsulas, there are certain types of verses in which there is regular ternary movement thruout (that is, stressed syllables are separated by two unstressed syllables), as in:

Vóu a tocár co a minha gaitinha . . .  
 Tanto bailé que me dió calentúra . . .  
 Piánta la fáva la bélla villána . . . , etc.

Such verses form a class by themselves (Baist, in *Grundriss*, II 2, p. 390, calls them "unromanisch"), and must be treated separately.<sup>1</sup>

But in Romance poetry, with the usual movement, does the music of the verse depend in part (1) on the alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables, or (2) rather on the balancing of certain larger blocks of syllables (of 4, 5, or 6, usually)? That is, in this verse:

Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita

is there a regular rhythmic pulsation,—much subtler than in Germanic verse, doubtless,—but still an easily discernible alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables? If so, there must be secondary stress on *del* and *nos*—

Or is

Nel mezzo del cammin . . .

one block of syllables, in which all that precede *-min* are without any rhythmic accent, altho they may, of course, have rhetorical accent? In that case the three syllables, *-zo del cam-*, are all atonic, and level. The second block would then be

. . . di nostra vita;

and the whole line would have two rhythmic accents, a primary on *vi-* and a secondary on *-min*. This is the view that is generally held, I take it. And yet, if my ear is not at fault, there is in most musical Romance verse a subtle and varied binary movement. The

<sup>1</sup> I am preparing an article on these ternary movements, and on their relation to the *copla de arte mayor*,

question, however, will probably never be settled until some one makes an exhaustive study of the sound-waves of Romance verse.

Merely as an experiment, I counted in the first canto of the *Inferno* the lines that may be read with regular binary movement, by giving secondary syllabic stress to the *del* and *nos-* of

Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita (line 1)

and the *ter-* and *quel-* of

Là dove terminava quella valle (line 14) ; etc.

Out of a total of 136 lines, I found 71, or a little more than half, of this type. Only a scant dozen of these, however, certainly have primary stress on every second syllable. Most of the lines, by thus treating arbitrarily three atonic syllables as equal to — ' —, gave the following results:

The arrangements are:

- |     |                             |
|-----|-----------------------------|
| (1) | — ' — ' — ' — ' — ' — ' —   |
| (2) | ' — ' — ' — ' — ' — ' — ' — |
| (3) | ' — — ' — ' — ' — ' — ' —   |
| (4) | — ' — ' — — ' — — ' —       |
| (5) | ' — — ' — — ' — — ' — — ' — |

The number of lines in each arrangement is as follows:

- (1) 71, or a little more than one-half.
- (2) 21 (=5, 15, 32, 44, 58, 59, 61, 64, 65, 69, 78, 82, 84, 86, 100, 104, 114, 121, 129, 134, 135).
- (3) 11 (=40, 46, 52, 66, 83, 90, 109, 115, 120, 122, 128).
- (4) 7 (=22, 29, 53, 56, 73, 74, 75).
- (5) 4 (=43, 48, 70, 88).

Examples:

- (1) In tutte parte impera, e quivi regge (line 127).
- (2) Questa selva selvaggia ed aspra e forte (line 5).
- (3) Mosse da prima quelle cose belle (line 40).
- (4) E come quei che, con lena affanata (line 22).
- (5) L'ora del tempo e la dolce stagione (line 43).

Note that in the lines of the first three classes (103 lines out of a total of 136 in the *canto*), deviations from the regular alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables occur only in the first four syllables.

In the entire *canto*, 22 lines can not be made to conform to any one of the five classes given above.

The following lines would fall into one of the five classes (the class is indicated in parenthesis after the line) by shifting the normal stress of a dissyllable:

- Line 3, Chè la diritta via erá smarrita (1st).
- Line 20, Che nel lago del cor m'erá durata (2d).
- Line 33, Che di pel maculato erá coperta (2d).
- Line 41, Sì che a bene sperar m'erá cagione (2d).
- Line 68, E li parenti miei furón Lombardi (1st).
- Line 117, Che la seconda morte ciáscun grida (1st).
- Line 124, Chè quello Imperador che lássù regna (1st).
- Line 119, Nel fuoco, pérchè speran di venire (1st).
- Line 25, Còsi l'animo mio, che ancor fuggiva (2d).
- Line 39, Ch'eran con lui, quandó l'amor divino (3d).

There is no proof whatever that Dante meant to shift accents thus; and yet we know that, in singing, an atonic dissyllable, at least, may have a variable musical accent. (Note also that several of these words are compounds.)

The following lines are similar:

- Line 7, Tanto è amara, che poco è più morte (5th?).
- Line 99, E dopo il pasto ha più fame che pria (4th?).

and

- Line 47, Con la testa alta e con rabbiosa fame (3d?).

The following lines are quite irregular:

- Line 60, Mi ripingeva là dove il Sol tace.
- Line 63, Chi per lungo silenzio parea fioco.

Even here a violent shifting of stress would make the lines fall into one of the five classes; but there is not the slightest reason to believe that this should be done. Nor do I believe that Dante had here some definite scheme in mind: it is more probable that thought and prosody clashed, and thought had its way.

At least seven lines are irregular in that the second phrase, or measure, begins with a stressed syllable. This brings two stressed syllables together, and violates the rules of euphony in verse. The arrangement of these lines is either one of the following

(other stressed syllables are not indicated, as they do not affect the result) :

— — — — —  
— — — — —

The lines are the following :

Line 57, Che in tutt' i suoi pensier piänge e s'attrista.

Line 67, Risposemi: ' Non uómo, uómo già fúi.

Line 72, Al tempo degli Déi fálsi e bugiárdi.

Line 91, " A te convien tenére áltro viággio

Line 93, " Se vuoi campár d'ésto loco selvággio

Line 103, Questi non ciberá térra nè péltro

Line 112, Ond' io per lo tuo mé' pénso e discérno.

Lines 3, 20, 33, 41, 119, 39, and 68, also may very well fall into this class, and it is possible that here is where they belong.

Note that of the seven lines given above, six (=67, 72, 91, 93, 103, and 112) occur in the speeches of Virgil (=lines 67-78, 91, and 93-129), and that each speech, or separate part of a speech, begins with one of these lines (cf. 67, 91, and 93). It does not seem probable that this is accidental, and I prefer to believe that Dante did so intentionally. These lines are less melodious, and more rugged and emphatic, and are such as to draw attention. Note also that in the lines given above in which I suggested that a shifting of accent is possible, four (68, 117, 119, and 124) occur in Virgil's words, and it does not seem improbable that they are brought in purposely.

Note also that in Virgil's first speech, when he says he was a poet and sang of Aeneas and Troy, Dante gives three successive lines (73, 74, 75) in the arrangement of syllables that I have called class (4), and which, in its lilt, reminds one somewhat of the Latin hexameter :

Poéta fúi, e cantái di quel giústo  
Figliuól d' Anchíse, che vénne da Tróia,  
Poiché il supérbo Ilión fu combústo.

And then, turning to Dante, he says in binary movement (lines 76, 77) :

Ma tu perchè ritorni a tanta noia?  
Perchè non sali il diletto monte . . .

It is dangerous to attach too much symbolism to Dante's rhythmic arrangements; but does not this line well portray deep breathing:

E cómo quéi che, con léna affanáta (line 22).

and is not this one unusually lyrical:

L'óra del témpo e la dólce stagióne (line 43).

The same arbitrary method applied to Spanish verse gave, in general, a surprisingly similar result. Thus, the following tables show the number of lines in each of the first three arrangements given above:

Lope, *Mañana*; Quevedo, *Epístola satírica* (part);

Calderon, *Soneto* ("Estas que fueron . . .") . . . (1) 48, (2) 21, (3) 20, Omitted 5.

Jovellanos, *A Arnesto*; Quintana, *Oda á España*. . . (1) 124, (2) 54, (3) 37, Omitted 9.

Espronceda, *A la Patria*; Zorrilla, *Indecisión* and *La fuente* . . . (1) 44, (2) 19, (3) 18, Omitted 3.

Totals (out of 403 all told) . . . (1) 216, (2) 94, (3) 75, Omitted 17.

In the first of these groups of verses, a little more than one half of the lines scanned are in group (1), with regular binary (?) movement; in the second group, about five-eighths; and in the third group, a little more than one half. In the totals of the three groups of verses, nine sixteenths are in class (1), which is very close to the proportion found in the first canto of the *Inferno*, where 71 out of 136 were in this class.

In the Spanish eight-syllable verse, the result I reached was also quite similar. The common syllabic arrangements may be grouped thus:

(1)  $\frac{e}{-} \frac{e}{-} \frac{e}{-} \frac{e}{-} \frac{e}{-} \frac{e}{-}$

(2)  $\frac{e}{-} \frac{e}{-} \frac{e}{-} \frac{e}{-} \frac{e}{-} \frac{e}{-}$

(3)  $\frac{e}{-} \frac{e}{-} \frac{e}{-} \frac{e}{-} \frac{e}{-} \frac{e}{-}$

Examples:

(1) Yo tiñera aqueste vado.

(2) Derriban ricos mantones.

(3) Hallaron las mesas puestas.

In the old *romances* Nos. 13, 16, 17, 19, and 20, of Wolf and Hofman's *Primavera y flor de romances*, there are 103 (out of a total of 466) half-lines that fell into the minor groups (which I



omit here), or which I was unable to assign with certainty to any one of the three classes on account of our ignorance of the laws of hiatus in Old Spanish verse. The remaining 363 half-lines I classified as follows:

(1) 187, (2) 112, (3) 64.

Therefore, approximately one half have the regular binary(?) movement.

I also scanned the following with these results:

Nos. 1, 3, and 9, of the *Primavera y Flor* . . . (1) 96, (2) 51, (2) 48, Omitted 15.  
 The later romances: *Abenámár*, *Fonte-frida*, *El conde Arnaldos*, *La constancia*,  
*El amante desdichado*, *El prisionero* (1) 93, (2) 32, (3) 38, Omitted 7.  
 Meléndez Valdés, *Rosana en los fuegos* . . . (1) 35, (2) 33, (3) 12, Omitted 7.  
 Zorrilla, *Á buen juez mejor testigo* (part) . . . (1) 35, (2) 29, (3) 29, Omitted 10.  
 Totals (out of 570, all told) . . . (1) 259, (2) 145, (3) 127, Omitted 39.

Of these, approximately two fifths have the regular binary (?) movement; and it should be noted that in the later *romance*-verse classified above the binary lines become relatively less numerous than in the older verse.

Since Italian and Spanish verses are never read by any one with even binary syllabic stress, the objection may well be made that my study of syllabic arrangements is futile. A normal 11-syllable line has two phrases, and therefore only two rhythmic, or musical, accents, usually a primary and a secondary. A recitative 8-syllable line is usually uttered as one phrase, with a rhythmic accent on the seventh syllable; while a lyric 8-syllable line may have, beside the necessary accent in the seventh position, a secondary accent on the second, third or fourth syllable. But, beside these musical accents, is there a subtle, underlying binary movement of syllabic stress in Dante's verse, and in that of most Italian and Spanish poets?

ELIJAH CLARENCE HILLS.

COLORADO COLLEGE.

## 1. SEIGNOR AS VOCATIVE SINGULAR

THE verses 2892-2901 of the *Chanson de Roland* (Gaston Paris, *Extraits*,<sup>8</sup> 705-713) read as follows:

Charles li reis revint de pasmeisons:  
Par mains lo tienent quatre de ses barons.  
Guardet a terre, veit gesir son nevot:  
Cors at gaillart, perdude at sa color,  
Torblez ses uelz, molt li sont tenebros.  
Charles lo plaint par fait e par amor:  
"Amis Rodlanz, Dieus metet t'aneme en flors,  
En paredis, entre les glorios!  
Come en Espagne venis a mal seignor!  
Ja mais n'iert jorz de tci n'aie dolor.

In his note to verse 2900, Gaston Paris says: "Ce vers n'est pas très clair. Il semble vouloir dire: 'Sous la conduite de quel mauvais seigneur tu es venu en Espagne!' Ce serait un reproche que Charles se ferait à lui-même." It is evident that the lamented French savant, not accepting Müller's interpretation (ed. of 1878): Cum en Espagne venis a mal, seignur!, substantially adopted in the translation of Petit de Julleville (Paris, 1878, p. 101): Comme en Espagne à tort tu vins, Seigneur!, took *mal* to be an attribute of *seignur*. And this hesitation to assign to *seignur* in our verse the function of a vocative seems to have been shared, as far as I can see, by all other editors and translators.<sup>1</sup>

Stengel, *Das altfranz. Rolandslied* (1900) reads: Cum en Espagne venis a mal seignur, while Gröber's text in *Bibliotheca Romanica*, in accordance with O, omits *a*, thus leaving the second hemistich one syllable short. Gautier, *La Ch. de R.* (Tours, 1883), and Geddes after him, take no account of *seignur*, the latter translating: 'Quel malheur que tu sois venu en Espagne!' The gram-

<sup>1</sup>Boehmer, *Roman. Studien*, 3, 497, note, remarks concerning our passage: 'Ich würde den Voc. Plur. festhalten, und vorher *venimus mar* schreiben; *venis* scheint ein aus einer Abkürzung entstandener Fehler zu sein.' This view is not supported either by the variants or by the context.

marians, if we may judge from their silence, also take *seigneur* as the regular object case, Nyrop, 2, § 274, citing *barun* for *ber* (3164) as the only instance of the substitution of the oblique for the nominative or vocative form in the *Roland*, while Meyer-Lübke, *RG.* 2, § 23, besides *barun* quotes from our epic *cumpaignun* 1160 (variant of *O*), and *creaturs* 501 (which last reference must be an error), and as an example of the nominative form for the oblique *suer* 294 instead of *seror*.

The occurrence of these irregularities in the *Roland*, and of similar cases, such as *seignor* for *sire* in *Aimeri de Narbonne* (3672), in other Old French texts (see Nyrop, *l. c.* §§ 273-274), supports the view that in the verse under discussion *seignur* serves in place of *sire* as vocative, referring to Roland, whom Charles addresses in this passage. The question then remains how a *mal* is to be understood.

I have not so far come across another example of *venir a mal*<sup>2</sup> in Old French, but in the *Vie de Saint Alexis* (ed. G. Paris, 1872), str. 89 (p. 159), we find: 'Ma longe atente a grant dol est venude,' and in view of such phrases as *venir à rien* in Modern French, of *venire a grado* in Italian, of *mettre a mal* in Old French (see Godefroy, *Complément*, s. v. *mal*, s.m.) and of *mettre a mal*, *tornar a mal* in Old Provençal (see Levy, *SW.* s. v. *mal*), we shall hardly go very far wrong in assuming for our verse the phrase *venir a mal* in the sense of 'to come to grief,' 'to meet with misfortune.' In my opinion, therefore, Müller interpreted the verse in question correctly by reading: Cum en Espaigne venis a mal, Seignur!, 'To how unfortunate an end hast thou come in Spain, Sir!'

## 2. SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE ORATE

In his recent publication *Lições de Philologia Portuguesa* (Lisboa, 1911), Leite de Vasconcellos (p. 63) discusses the Portuguese vulgar form *sorates* which, as he correctly says, is due to the addition of the *s* of *dos* (in: *casa dos orates*) to *orates*. As regards the etymology of *orate*, the author properly receives with doubt the reference of this word, in the Dictionary of the Spanish Academy, to the Greek *ὁπατής*, but offers no explanation of his own.

<sup>2</sup>To my knowledge the instance offered by our *Chanson* is not cited anywhere.

Leaving aside the theories of Covarrubias (1611) and his successors (Nebrija does not have the word), we may record here the ingenious idea of the late W. I. Knapp (ed. of E. P. Bazán's Pascual López, Boston, 1905, p. 207) that *orate* is "the Latin imperative plural—'pray,' 'beg,' used by the keepers of old in derision of their victims," an idea which has quite the flavor of Priscian's derivation of *caelebs* from *caelestis* (*caelestium vitam ducens*). The few notes of which I dispose at this writing do not claim to be more than the first guide-post in the history of this term: The word *orate* came to the western part of the Peninsula from Aragon (whose official language Catalan was from 1137-1479),<sup>1</sup> and is identical with the Old Catalan *orat*, 'foe,' Provençal *aurat*, *aurada* (see, e. g., Levy, *SW.*, s. v.). According to Teodoro Llorente, *Valencia (in España, sus Monumentos y Artes*, etc. Barcelona, 1887-1889, vol. 1, 627-629), the first Home for the Insane in the Peninsula was founded in Valencia in 1409 (Casa dels Ignocents de Valencia), and was next followed by one in Saragossa in 1425 called *Casa de Orates*.<sup>2</sup>

The earliest examples of the occurrence of *orate* in Spanish authors which I can give at present, are from Torres Naharro (†about 1530), who uses the word both in Castilian and in Catalan dialogues. Thus 1, 275 (*Libros de Antaño*):

No te lo hagan creer,  
Déiate d'esos debates.  
Cuidas que somos *orates*?

*Ibid.*, 323:

Vos no veis que os dice *orate*  
Y á nosotros gente boba?

*Ibid.*, 370:

Cap de tal!  
Tots serem á la cabal

<sup>1</sup> Most likely since 1469, in the wake of Ferdinand of Aragon and his followers.

<sup>2</sup> The *Taschenwörterbuch der Katal. u. deutsch. Sprache* (Berlin, Langenscheidt, 1911) still registers *orat*, and also the adage: "Infant y orat diuhen la veritat," but Mr. Foulché-Delbosc writes me that *boig* is now the current expression in place of *orat*.

<sup>3</sup> In Seville (1436) and Toledo (1483) the name of these asylums seems at first to have been *Hospital de los Inocentes* (see l. c., 629, note 1).

Puig que veig tala experiència;  
 Que ni ha folls en Portugal  
 Com orats ni ha en Valencia.<sup>4</sup>

### 3. PORTUGUESE *ENDOUTO* AND RELATED FORMS

In the same work, p. 25, Leite reprints from the *Revue Hispanique* 4 (1897), 212 an article on the word *endouto* in the adage:

Quem bragas não ha *emdouto*,  
 As costuras lhe fazem nojo,

taking *endouto* here to mean '*vestido*' (past part. of *vestir*) and to be derived from *inductus* (cf. Latin: *inducere calceum*, etc.). Leite makes no reference to the fact that, in *Z. f. r. Ph.*, 19 (1895), 535,<sup>1</sup> this very adage was adduced by Madame Vasconcellos in illustration of the use of *adoito*, which form in her version takes the place of *endouto*. Both the obvious meaning of the proverb in question: 'He who has not become accustomed to breeches, is chafed by the seams,' and the variant *adoito* = *adductus* indicate that *endouto* here signifies, not '*vestido*,' but '*costumado*,' and that the case in question should have been considered in connection with the phrase *era endouto* listed by Leite himself in *Dialectos interamnenses* (Porto, 1886) and there rendered by *era costume* (*inductus*), an instance not even referred to in the article under discussion, though cited by the present writer in *Liederbuch des Königs Denis* (Halle, 1894), p. 173 (from Bluteau, Appendix to the *Supplemento* of his Dictionary) and *Z. f. r. Ph.*, 32, 394, note 2. In addition to this example of the use of *endouto*, it would have been profitable to examine the locutions *ser endoito*, *aver doito*, *duito* collected in *Liederbuch*, p. 120 and *Z. f. r. Ph.*, l. c., and in the latter place interpreted as signifying 'to be experienced, accustomed,' 'to have experienced,' a sense which, as there stated, also attaches to the Spanish forms *ducho*, *duecho* found in Gonçalo de Berceo's *Mil.*, 149, and also in a number of other Spanish texts quoted by Pietsch, *Mod.*

<sup>4</sup> See also l. c., p. 145, 146, and *orada*, *oradura*, p. 200.

<sup>1</sup> This is an article with which Leite, p. 19 of his book and elsewhere, claims to be very familiar. See the review of the *Lições* in *Modern Language Notes* of May, 1912.

*Phil.*, 7, 53-54.<sup>2</sup> To these instances may here be added from *Revista lusitana*, 7, 210, *doito*, 'costumbre' (mod. Galician), also *l. c.*, 11, 193, *doutiar*, *doutio*, 'cultivar,' 'cultivo' (Baião), and from Petri Hispani, *Vocabulista* (ed. Lagarde, 1883, p. 207) *ducho o acostumbrado*, Arab. 'dāri dariün.'<sup>3</sup> It is evident, therefore, that in the adage discussed by Dr. Leite *endouto* has the same meaning as in the other Portuguese and Spanish cases of *aver doito*, *haber ducho*, *duecho* here referred to. We may conjecture that in the more or less indefinite significations in which some of these forms seem to appear in Portuguese, we have an echo of that interaction of *docēre* and *dūcēre* suggested by Diez, *EWb.*, II, 564, and recently by Morf, *Archiv f. d. St. d. N. Spr.*, 1910, vol. 125, p. 269. A systematic study of the vernacular, and especially of the Latin documents of medieval Spain would doubtless shed much light on this, as on many other questions.

H. R. LANG.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

<sup>2</sup> Another example of *ducho* (*duecho*) has since been adduced by Pietsch in *Mod. Phil.*, 9, 420. As regards the reply there made by Mr. Pietsch to my criticism in *Romanic Review*, 2, 334, it is hardly convincing, especially in view of such statements as the following (p. 417): "Why I should be charged with piecing together two notes and a shred of the passage to which they are appended, when the attachment of the notes to the passage in question is the work of Mr. Lang himself, I do not understand"; and (p. 418, note 1): "Menéndez Pidal [Mr. Lang accepts my silent correction of 'Pidal' to 'Menéndez Pidal'].'"

<sup>3</sup> Two other representatives of Latin *ductum*, not thus far cited in this connection, may be mentioned here: *Pr. Cron. Gen.* 112a: *Auie la cara luenga et sonducha* (B. *sondecha*). Cf. Latin *oculi subducti*.—Pribsch, *Z. f. r. Ph.*, 19, p. 6 (no. 56) *adduītos*. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 24, and for the same form Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de mio Cid*, 2, s. v. *aducho*.

## REVIEWS

*La Connaissance de la Nature et du Monde au moyen âge, d'après quelques écrits français à l'usage des laïcs.* By CH. V. LANGLOIS. Paris, Librairie Hachette et Cie, 1911. Pp. xxiv, 401.

We have in *La Connaissance de la Nature et du Monde au moyen âge* the third and latest of the series of interesting books which Mr. Langlois has devoted to presenting a picture of medieval society, literature and science to modern readers,<sup>1</sup> in a way which brings that period closest to them, by analyses with quotations, of representative contemporaneous works written in French. And it is the one which has demanded the most time and labor from its author, both for the research incidental to writing the introductions of the several treatises, and the task of abridging, and choosing from, these extensive encyclopaedic works. Of the seven works in question only three have been edited, the recently discovered *Lapidaire*, and the *Bestiaire* of Philippe de Thaon, and the *Trésor* of Brunetto Latini;<sup>2</sup> the others have been known by more or less extensive analyses and extracts, and in the case of the *Sidrach* by an Italian and German translation. For this reason the book will remain for a long time a source to which one must refer for popular medieval conceptions, which the author has only exceptionally illustrated in the notes. As in the two other works Mr. Langlois has added to our knowledge of the authors and the works with which he deals; and the critic can only suggest meager supplementary details to the author's wide knowledge of medieval literature and bibliography.

No such conclusion as to Philippe de Thaon's personal taste, "ayant du goût pour la vulgarisation scientifique" (1) should be drawn from the phrase (*Li Cumpos*, v. 227), "Car unc ne fu loée Escience celée,"<sup>3</sup> a commonplace in medieval literature. (Cf., e. g., l. 279; *Vita e Poesie di Sordello*, ed. de Lollis, 295-6; F. Michel, *Flor. et Fl.*, XXXV; F. Wolf, *Kleinere Schriften*, 138; *Rom.* XXVI, 257.) In the *Restor du Paon* the saying is referred to an Englishman, "et si dist li Englois" (*Hugues Capet*, XVII, n.). The *Computus* of Thurkil to which Philippe refers as a source (II, n. 2), was published twenty years ago, and the date of its composition has been recently shown to be before 1117 (*Haskins, Engl. Hist. Rev.*, XXVIII, 101). The story of the whale being mistaken for an island (42, 88, 367) has passed into literature under so many forms,

<sup>1</sup> Articles of Mr. Langlois on the same general subject, which are, perhaps, not as well known as they should be, are, "La société du moyen âge d'après les fableaux" (*Rev. bleue*, XLVIII, 227, 289); "La littérature goliardique" (*ib.*, L, 807; LI, 175); "Les Melancolies de Jehan du Pin" (*ib.*, LXXXI, 805); "Les Anglais au moyen âge d'après les sources françaises" (*Rev. hist.*, LI, 298).

<sup>2</sup> Has Mr. Langlois some new and unpublished evidence to substantiate his statement that the name was Latino (328), or is he merely falling into an old error, of which the falsity has been shown numberless times in the last forty years?



that a reference to the most complete study of it would have been appropriate (Runeburg, *Mém. de la Soc. néo-philol. de Helsingfors*, III, 343; cf. Plummer, *Zeit. f. cell. Phil.*, V, 136, n. 2; Schulze, *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.*, XXX, 264).

Mr. Langlois has shown that there is every reason to believe that a certain Gossuin was the author of the *Image du Monde*. But what he has not brought out clearly enough is the author's connection with the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Arnoul at Metz. Gossuin tells his readers that he found there the Latin texts of his account of the wanderings of St. Brendan, the stories *Del philosophe qui décrit comment Nature fist un homme* and *Del philosophe qui ocist sa mere par sa parole*, and his account of Charlemagne (50, 55-6). It has been pointed out that the first of these works was an uncontaminated version of the *Navigatio S. Brandani* (Plummer, *op. cit.*, 141); P. Meyer has noted the use of the *Anticlaudianus* of Alain de Lille made in the second, and of Eginhard's *Vita Karolini Magni* in the fourth (*Rom.*, XXI, 490-1, 498), and the third is taken from the prologue of the dialogue in which Secundus Philosophus plays a part (ed. K. Bachmann, *Philologus*, XLVI, 388-90), of which there is extant a tenth century manuscript, coming from Saint-Arnoul (*Cat. gén. des mss. des bibliothèques des Départements*, V (1872), 146. We have no longer the Saint-Arnoul manuscript of the *Vita Karolini Magni*, as we have that of a minor work of the same author, the *Translatio SS. Marcellini et Petri*, in an almost perfect copy (MGH. XV, 1, 238), but we may be sure that the library of the abbey, the resting place of Hildegard, the wife of Charlemagne, Louis the Pious, and Drogon, archbishop of Metz, his sons (*Rom.*, XXI, 492, 497; MGH., XXIV, 24) contained such a popular work, as well as Thegan's *Vita Ludovici pii* and another French chronicle of which Gossuin made use (*Rom.*, XXI, 491-3). Further the abbey of Saint-Arnoul was the home of the different versions of the *Annales Mettenses*, in which these earlier chronicles were used (B. V. Simson, *Neues Archiv*, XXIV, 399 ff.; XXV, 177 ff.), and in one of which undue space is given to the death of Robert d'Artois (MGH., XXIV, 522), the patron to whom the *Image* was first dedicated (59-60). Is it not more than a mere coincidence that the brother of St. Louis, who subsidized the encyclopaedic work (1244-54) of Vincent de Beauvais (E. Boutaric, *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XVII, 20-1), should have patronized a similar work? And would not a reference to the necrology of the abbey (*Cat.*, 89) give some information about Gossuin?

One would be inclined to believe that Gossuin took his account of Dionysius the Areopagite's observations on the eclipse of the sun on the day of the crucifixion (101), from the life of that apocryphal saint, written by Hilduin, the chaplain of Louis the Pious (Migne, P. L., CXXII, 1032-3), of which there was a copy at Saint-Arnoul (*Cat.*, 163), and to attribute Gossuin's statement that it was Dionysius, astounded at the phenomenon, who built the altar "To the Unknown God," and had to wait until St. Paul explained the mystery, to a misunderstanding of the passage, if the same detail were not found in Hrotswitha's versification of Hilduin's work (*Passio S. Dion.*, ed. Winterfeld, 17 ff). Or were both indebted for this detail to an addition to, or gloss on, the text in the manuscript used by them? It is more probable that Gossuin took the "Paroles" of Ptolemy he cites, from the collection of apothegms found at the beginning of some manuscripts of his favorite *Almagest* (F. Boll, *Anglia*, XXI, 229), than from the *Dicta philosophorum* as P. Meyer thought (*Rom.*, XXI,

487). He was not only indebted to the *Historia orientalis* of Jacques de Vitry for his information on natural history; he was inspired by, if he did not merely translate the same author's favorable opinion of the Minorites, and attack upon ill-living prelates in his *Historia occidentalis* (cf. 60, n. 5, 75; *Hist. occ.*, ed. F. Moschus, chs. 5 and 32, pp. 270, 349).

The *Image du Monde* was translated into English (66) by Caxton, who adopted a considerable part of the prologue of the second redaction, without acknowledgment, and modelled his engravings after the manuscript illuminations, printed it twice, in 1481 and c. 1490, under the title of *The Mirroure of the Worlde* (W. Blades, *William Caxton*, 2d ed. 226-8, 349). It was reprinted by Lawrence Andrewe in 1527 (*Hand List of Printers, 1501-1556*. Bibliographical Soc., II). Mr. Langlois has at one point (91) either followed a manuscript which omitted, or he himself has omitted, the localities of certain natural marvels of which de Vitry was the source (*Hist. or.*, ch. 92, pp. 216-7). The ever-burning mountain was Aetna, which Gossuin himself climbed up; the rain-making fountain was the famous one in the forest of Brocéliande in Brittany:

En Bretagne i. a. ce dist on,  
Une fontaine e. i. perron.  
Quant om gette de l'ève  
Si vente et pluet et rechiet jus.

(B. N. Ms. fr. 1882, fol. 162, col. 1).

If in the first redaction Gossuin does not refer specifically to the English as "caudati," he found authority for the statement in Jacques de Vitry, who has been cited in Stimmung's study of the tradition (*Studi . . . dedicati a Pio Rajna*, 475). On the other hand, the French writer in locating the bernacle "devers Yrlande," consonant as it is with the general Occidental tradition (F. Liebrecht, *Gervasius v. Tilbury*, 163; Benfey, *Occ. u. Or.*, III, 189; Gaster, *Germania*, XXVI, 208; Liebrecht, XXVII, 377), shows that there is a misreading in the Latin "In Flandrie." It is curious to find Gossuin (87) repeating de Vitry's item (ch. 79), that St. George was the battle cry of the Georgians, when it was used by the English and French in the third Crusade fifty years before the date of the French work (Matzke, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, XVIII, 155; XIX, 449).

Schönbach in articles written later than that which Mr. Langlois cites (118), has given the more precise dates 1230-5, to the period of Berthold von Regensburg's study under Bartholomew (*Wien. Sitzungsab.*, CLIV, Part 1, 14; CLV, Part 5, 3, 5), and conjectured that he used the *De proprietatibus* as early as 1240 (*ib.*, CLV, I, 16). Trevisa's English translation (123) dated February 6, 1384, was first printed towards the end of the fifteenth century by Wynkyn de Worde (E. G. Duff, *Hand List*, I, 3), and reprinted by Berthelet in 1535, but Shakespeare was not acquainted with Bartholomew's work through this version of it, but through Stephen Batman's revision of it, published in 1582. Reference should have been made (126, n. 2) to Steinschneider's recent bibliography on the work of Maschallah (ZDMG., LIII, 434), and not to his early publication. Ysaac Judaeus, the author of the *Dictarium*, lived in the ninth and not in the seventh century (137 n.). The section treating "des arbres, des herbes, des fruits et des semences" (167) is taken from the apocryphal Aristotelian work *De plantis*, translated into Arabic by Isaac b. Honein, corrected by Thabit b. Korra, and translated into Latin by Alfred de Sereshel (A. Thomas, *Bull. hisp.*,

VI, 23-4). No commentary on this book by the astronomer Albumasar has been pointed out (Steinschneider, *Die arab. Übersetzungen aus Griech. Beih. d. Centralbl. f. Bibliothekswesen*, XII, 102; *Wien. Sitzungsab.*, ch. I, Part 1, 35-8).

In all probability Bartholomew made use of the work of Sereshel, which was utilized by Vincent (Boutaric, *op. cit.*, 25-7), in a manuscript in which it was wrongly attributed to Albumasar. One can get a far better idea of elementary arithmetic of the thirteenth century from the most popular *Algorismus* of John of Holywood, which has been edited by Halliwell (1841) and Eneström (1897), than from the anonymous treatise of no repute, written in French (177).

Mr. Langlois has shown clearly the worthlessness as evidence of the preface of the *Sidrach*, and the mistake modern scholars have made in accepting as such a fiction based upon phrases in translations from the Arabic. To one of these, the *Secreta secretorum*, the *Sidrach* was indebted, not only for the questions on physiognomy in the amplified editions (258) but also for certain questions and their answers in the original version, such as those on warfare (228, 251), a subject discussed in the chapter *De ordine e multitudine bellatorum*. Mr. Langlois considers that the *Image du Monde* inspired parts of only the amplified *Sidrach* (195-6). But it is quite clear for any one who compares three works, the *Historia orientalis* of J. de Vitry, and the two French encyclopedias, that the *Sidrach's* account of the inhabitants of India (213-5) is largely borrowed, and that of the wonderful springs (226), entirely taken from Gossuin's work (Le Roux de Lincy, *Livre des Légendes*, 207 ff., 81-2, 87, 91, 95-6). As the *Image* was only completed in 1247, no other evidence is necessary to reject the date of 1243, which is given in the preface of the *Sidrach* as the date of its translation into French. The author may have once lived in one of the Latin kingdoms of the Orient, but there can be no doubt but that when he wrote his compilation he was living in France in a religious community where he was able to use a considerable collection of books, which at once suggested a forgery and furnished him with the material for it.

The author was not indebted in any way to the work of Priscian the Philosopher (184), which was known to others, and utilized by Vincent (Boutaric, *op. cit.*, 33-5), but it is clear that he owed the dialogue framework of his composition, and much of his information to the anonymous (Hauréau, *Notices et Extr.*, V, 266) *Elucidarium*. Beginning with one of the introductory questions on the omnipresence of God (207, 17: *Libr. I*, cap. 3; Migne, *P. L.*, CLXXII, 1111 CD) down to the last questions on the Anti-Christ, Judgment Day, and the happiness of the blessed (263, 1-19: *Libr. III*, capp. 10, 12 and 16, coll. 1163, 4, 5, 9), the French work is dependent on its Latin model for the material, if not for the sequence and continuity of its questions. One of the principal subsidiary sources the author used to make a secular work out of this glorified catechism was a very different work, the *Philosophia mundi* of Guillaume de Conches (cf. Hauréau, *Singularités historiques*, 237 ff.) to which he is particularly indebted for his physiological and psychological information, "les questions d'obstétrique et de gynécologie" (208, 14: *IV*, 33; Migne, *P. L.*, CLXXII, 98c; 209, 5: *IV*, 32, 93B; 211, 26: *IV*, 10, 88D; 220, 25: *IV*, 1, 85A; 221, 16-22: *III*, 4, 8 and 10, 76B, 77D, 78B; 221, 29-30: *III*, 16, 82C; 222, 9: *III*, 10, 73B; 236, 17: *IV*, 26, 96; 238, 20: *IV*, 16, 90D; 241, 23: 32-3, 93; 248, 3: *IV*, 17, 90-1; 252, 4: *IV*, 9, 88C). He used in connection with this work the later work of the author,

the *Philosophia Secunda*, written in dialogue form, in which alone one might find the answers and questions on the change of color, and the loss of hair (239-40: S. P., capp. XIV-XV; V. Cousin, *Ouvrages inéd. d'Abélard*, 670). On the other hand the *Phil. Sec.* does not contain the chapters on the antipodes (220-1, 231: P. M., IV, 3, 85-6), the tides and the winds (221, 26: III, 14, 80-1; 248, 1: III, 15, 81, cf. C. Jourdain, *Excursions hist. . . à travers le Moyen Age*, 35, 51), and the deluge (222, 13: III, 20, 83-4).

Use was also made in the composition of the *Sidrach* of the *Introductorium in astronomiam* of Albumasar in his account of the influence of the planets and the signs of the zodiac on mankind (240, 243; cf. 167, n.; *Modern Philology*, IX, 342). No earlier version has been pointed out of the twelve points of a good horse (254; cf. R. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, III, 33, Schönbach, *Wiener Sitzungsab.*, CLV, Part V, 38; *Mod. Phil.*, VI, 440; *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXVII, 125), and the mention of the curious Indian prenuptial custom antedates by a century what has been considered the earliest (214, 23; W. Mertz, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 195, 270; Bonner, *Classical Phil.*, VI, 402). As there are several references to "la mer betée" (90, 223, 226) should not Mr. Langlois have explained the term as a translation of the "mare concretum" of the *Imago mundi* (I, 36, Migne, P. L., CLXXII, 132C), which derived it in turn from the Latin translation of Chalcidius of Plato's *Timaeus*, and should he not have indicated some of the bibliography on the belief in the Middle Ages (cf., e. g., Gachet, *Glossaire*, 63; Lowes, *Mod. Phil.*, III, 43)? If a copy of the *Sidrach* is found in England as early as 1319-22 (*Archaeol. Rev.*, II, 345, 349), towards the end of the same century Gower in his *Mirour de l'homme* refers to *Ecclesiasticus* as *Sidrach*, as others had done before him (198, n. 2).

Mr. Langlois has added two definite bits of information to the little known of the dialogue of *Placides et Timeo*. He has found a copy of it in a manuscript dating from 1303 and has pointed out that there are two versions of it, differing in the way they end. Of these that of B., represented in its fullest form in the MS. de la Gruthuyse, Mr. Langlois rightly considers to belong to the original work. If the authors of both endings are indebted to the *Image du Monde* (296, cf. 101-2: 295, 314-5), only that of B. makes use of the same work of Guillaume de Conches (322, 21-4, and n.: P.M., IV, 11, 89A; IV, 14, 89D), which is an important source of the first part (282, 11-17: IV, 1, 83A; 286, 4-16: III, 16-17, 82, I, 21, 49D; 289, 5: IV, 7, 88A; 289, 9: IV, 29, 97B-C; 290, 4: IV, 7, 88B; 290, 6: IV, 34, 98D; 291, 3: IV, 32-3, 98C-D; 292, 8: IV, 14, 89D; 293, 9: IV, 23, 94-5; 293, 11: IV, 10, 88; 294, 2: IV, 11, 89, A-B). Further certain questions had their source in the *Philosophia Secunda* (285, 16-17: S. P., cap. XXX, *Ouvr. inéd. d'Abélard*, 675 and cf. 285, 15: cap. XX, 670; 290, 12: cap. XXIX, 671). Nor did the indebtedness of the author of the dialogue of *Placides et Timeo* to Guillaume de Conches end here. The latter wrote an extensive commentary on the Latin translation of Chalcidius, of Plato's *Timaeus* (cf. Hauréau, *Singularités*, 242 ff.), which supplied the name of one of the interlocutors, if he appears as the master, instead of as the disciple. It must have been in this work, of which only fragments have been published (*Ouvr. inéd. d'Abélard*, 646-657), that the French compiler found an account of the conception of "notre Platon" in his *Republic* on the origin of social classes, to which he refers in both the first part and version B of the ending (279, n., 315, 320). A

slight use has been made of the *Elucidarium* (290, 17: I, 11, Migne, CLXXII, 1116B; 291, 1: I, 14, 1118B), and of the *Secreta secretorum* (291, 277, 2-5). It is clear that the authors both of the *Sidrach* and of the *Placides et Timeo*, used a manuscript containing several manuals such as one in which are found the *Philosophia secunda* and *Philosophia tertia* of Guillaume, which also contains the *Secreta* and a certain *De conservatione sanitatis* (*Ouvr. inéd.*, 669).

GEORGE L. HAMILTON.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

## NOTES AND NEWS

A Société du XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle has been established with headquarters at Paris. The object of the Society will be to unite who are interested in the XVIIIth century, whether from the literary, historical or artistic side. A review will be published, which, it is expected, will maintain an exceptionally high level of merit. Inquiries can be addressed to Monsieur D. Mornet, 75, Avenue de Saint Mandé, Paris, or to the editors of the *Romanic Review*.

The large and beautifully printed volume dedicated to Pio Rajna (*Studi Letterari e Linguistici*, Firenze, Enrico Aeciani; 959 pages) has been distributed among the subscribers and is now on sale.

Holiday courses intended mainly for foreigners have been conducted this summer at Madrid and Florence.

Dr. Barry Cerf of the University of Wisconsin has been promoted to an associat professorship.

Dr. G. T. Northup of Princeton University has been appointed Assistant Professor of Italian and Spanish at the University of Toronto.

Miss Madeleine Doby, B. ès Lettres of the University of Paris, has been chosen Instructor in French at Wellesley College.

Miss Agnes L. Johnson has been appointed Instructor in French at Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana.

Professor B. E. Young of Vanderbilt University has given courses in the Summer Session of Columbia University.

Assistant Professor Irving Babbitt of Harvard University has been elected Professor of French literature at that institution. Assistant Professor C. H. C. Wright of the same university has been promoted to an associat professorship.

Assistant Professor Gilbert Chinard of Brown University has accepted an assistant professorship in French at the University of California. He will teach in the Summer Session of the University of Chicago.

The address of the *Bureau Bibliographique* for Rome and the Provincia di Roma is Via E. Q. Visconti 49, Rome, Italy, care of Dr. H. Celani. The bureau will undertake researches in the public archives and libraries of the region at terms to be fixed by correspondence. Bibliographical collations are offered at 5 francs; paleographical collations at 10 francs. The *Libreria della Voce*, Florence, Piazza Davanzati, offers to prepare special bibliographies for scholars in special subjects, and to furnish the books and MS. copies or facsimiles.

Dr. Ernest H. Wilkins, of Harvard University, has been appointed Associat-Professor of Romance languages at the University of Chicago.

Mr. Rudolph Altrocchi, who has been Instructor in Romance languages at the University of Pennsylvania, has accepted a similar position at Harvard University.

Mr. R. E. Rockwood is Instructor in Romance languages at Ohio State University. Mr. O. F. Bond has been appointed Assistant in the department at the same institution.

